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THE ENGLISH CHURCH

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII TO THE DEATH OF MARY

BY

JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B.

HON. LL.D. EDIN.

London

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INTRODUCTION

INTEREST in the history of the English Church has been steadily increasing of late years, since the great importance of the Church as a factor in the development of the national life and character from the earliest times has come to be more fully and clearly recognised. But side by side with this increase of interest in the history of our Church, the want has been felt of a more complete presentment of it than has hitherto been attempted. Certain portions, indeed, have been written with a fulness and accuracy that leave nothing to be desired; but many others have been dealt with, if at all, only in manuals and text-books which are generally dull by reason of excessive compression, or in sketches which, however brilliant and suggestive, are not histories. What seemed to be wanted was a continuous and adequate history in volumes of a moderate size and price, based upon a careful study of original authorities and the best ancient and modern writers. On the other hand, the mass of material which research has now placed at the disposal of the scholar seemed to render it improbable that any one would venture to undertake such a history single-handed, or that, if he did, he would live to complete it. The best way, therefore, of meeting the difficulty seemed to be a division of labour amongst several competent scholars, agreed in their general principles, each being responsible for a period to which he has

devoted special attention, and all working in correspondence through the medium of an editor or editors, whose business it should be to guard against errors, contradictions, overlapping, and repetition; but, consistency and continuity being so far secured, each writer should have as free a hand as possible. Such is the plan upon which the present history has been projected. It is proposed to carry it on far enough to include at least the Evangelical Movement in the eighteenth century. The whole work will consist of seven[1] *crown octavo books uniform in outward appearance, but necessarily varying somewhat in length and price. Each book can be bought separately, and will have its own index, together with any tables or maps that may be required.*

I am thankful to have secured as my co-editor a scholar who is eminently qualified by the remarkable extent and accuracy of his knowledge to render me assistance, without which, amidst the pressure of many other duties, I could scarcely have ventured upon a work of this magnitude.

W. R. W. STEPHENS.

THE DEANERY, WINCHESTER,
20*th July* 1899.

[1] *An eighth volume dealing with "The English Church in the Nineteenth Century" has since been added.*

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PREFACE

This volume has for its subject a period of transition in the history of the English Church, the treatment of which, the author is well aware, is beset by many difficulties.

The copious stores of documents now available have rendered many long-cherished views untenable; but the results of investigation are as yet imperfectly known, and it is to be feared that the truth on very important subjects will have much prejudice to encounter before it can win general acceptance.

With regard to detailed facts, however, the authorities cited at the end of each chapter are open to consultation, and the study of their testimony is invited. The only questions which can arise on such matters are questions as to the author's care and accuracy in the use of documents, or it may be, sometimes, as to his judgment in their interpretation.

A more serious difficulty lies in the very atmosphere, so to speak, in which the historian moves. How is he to interpret the thoughts and feelings of the sixteenth century to an age so very different? Since that day the Christian world has become divided into different religious bodies. The formal unity of the Church, which it was then thought so important to preserve, has long since passed away; the words "heresy" and "schism" have almost lost their meaning, and party names have become rigid and exclusive.

But during the whole period embraced in this volume,

the unity of the Church was not only the generally received doctrine, but was also a doctrine which the State felt bound to uphold. The rulers of the State might seek to put the Church under new conditions; they might even seek to discredit some old doctrines. Both these things they did attempt; and, whatever we may think of their conduct, they succeeded largely in their aims. But this did not affect the old belief, held even by reformers, in one true Catholic and Apostolic Church. A supreme spiritual jurisdiction at Rome was not felt to be vitally necessary—not even, at first, by all those who were attached to old standards of belief. Their dissatisfaction certainly increased during the reign of lawlessness and faction which sprang up under the boy king, Edward VI., and they welcomed a return under Mary to the old spiritual head of Christendom. Yet under the Edwardine anarchy, men who had without misgivings disowned the papacy were still considering deeply what were the essential principles of the one true Church, purified from everything superstitious and unnecessary. They could not, of course, quite agree among themselves; but they made very considerable progress towards agreement, and laid the foundations in a new ritual of a more real catholicism than that of Rome.

But the authority of all that had been done as yet was questionable. If royal supremacy had taken the place of papal supremacy, how was royal supremacy exercised during a minority? Were the acts of a violent faction of successful intriguers to be regarded as the acts of royalty? No new standard of faith could actually be promulgated in the days of Edward VI., and what was heresy before could only be regarded at best as heresy encouraged by men in power.

It must be understood, therefore, that wherever heresy is spoken of in this volume, nothing is implied as regards the truth or falsehood of the doctrines so described. The essential nature of heresy, as understood in those days, was an arrogant and pertinacious denial of doctrines laid down by

authority; and where no competent authority had as yet declared old beliefs superstitious, it was really heresy to dispute them. In a later age, when the Church of England had distinctly laid down her own dogmatic position in the Thirty-nine Articles, some doctrines which had formerly been branded as heresy lost that character for evermore.

Of course the heresies spoken of in this volume were generally of a kind which we should include, in these days, under the name of Protestant, and the author has been driven to use that term occasionally for want of a better. They were mostly such as in earlier times would have been called Lollard, and in later times Puritan. But neither of these terms can properly be used at this epoch; for the use of the expression "Lollard" was forborne after some of the Lollard principles had been adopted by authority, and the name of Puritan had not yet been invented. On the other hand, the term "Protestant" is scarcely less of an anachronism as applied to Englishmen of this period; for it was restricted in its application to the Germans who agreed in the protest made at Spires against the enforcement of the edict of Worms. There were, indeed, even in the reign of Henry VIII., Englishmen like Barnes who were imbued with Lutheran theology; but they were very few. So when the word Protestant occurs in this volume, in reference to Englishmen, it will be understood in its popular modern acceptation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY—THE CHURCH UNDER HENRY THE SEVENTH

On the 1st of January 1501, it so happened that the archiepiscopal Sees of Canterbury and York were both vacant—the first by the death of the astute Cardinal Morton, the second by that of the judicial but rather timid Rotherham. For York a successor was found by the translation of Thomas Savage, Bishop of London, who had long ago negotiated in Spain the marriage of Prince Arthur to Katharine of Aragon, and whose promotion made way for the preferment of Dr. William Warham to the See of London. In Canterbury the vacancy was to have been filled by the translation of Thomas Langton from Winchester, who was elected by the Chapter on January 22nd, but died five days later. In April following Henry Deane was called from Salisbury to the archiepiscopal throne, which, however, he did not occupy quite two years, for he died in February 1503. Dr. Warham, after being Bishop of London for about a year, was then advanced to the highest spiritual cure in England, which he held for nearly thirty years.

The Sees of Canterbury and York.

These men were all statesmen, more or less, and with the exception of Langton—an old Yorkist employed in embassies by Edward IV. and Richard III.—had been very useful to Henry VII., either in the winning or the keeping of his throne. It is noticed by Lord Bacon that that king made large use of churchmen as ministers of State, seeing that he could easily reward them by promotions without cost to the Crown. But the names above given include, with one exception, really all

the great political churchmen who remained in the latter part of Henry's reign. That one exception was Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Henry's faithful friend, who had shared his exile when he was Earl of Richmond, in the days of Richard III., and had been his valued councillor from the beginning of his reign. He had been his secretary, perhaps even before he was king, and as early as 1487 had been advanced to the office of lord privy seal, which he continued to hold under Henry VIII. In that year, too, he was made a bishop by Henry VII., his first See being Exeter, from which he was afterwards moved to Bath, to Durham, and finally to Winchester. As Bishop of Durham he had been actively concerned in the defence of the country against the Scots—a thing which, as Richard III. once informed the pope, was always a primary duty with Bishops of Durham. He had also been sent on pacific missions to James IV., and not only used his own best endeavours to prevent misunderstandings between the two countries, but was a principal agent in arranging that treaty of marriage between the Scottish king and the Princess Margaret, which ultimately led to the union of the two crowns in their descendant, James I. In another way he deserves a no less grateful recognition from posterity as the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford—the College, as it was called, of the three learned languages, which elicited the warm admiration of Erasmus. At the accession of Henry VIII. he was recognised as all-powerful, his only rival in the Council being the lord treasurer, the Earl of Surrey, afterwards the victor of Flodden, with whom he was by no means on very good terms, finding that the earl, to spare his own shattered fortunes at this time, sought to use his official position as a means of rewarding private friends and followers.

Bishop Fox.

The Church, no doubt, was a good training-school for statesmen; for churchmen, on the whole, received a far better education than the nobility, and laymen who were not of noble birth had no such avenue to promotion. Yet the fact that clergymen could be so easily rewarded, and had such large prizes set before their eyes, of course tended to draw the attention of some to politics more than became their spiritual functions. There

Tendency of churchmen to become politicians.

were churchmen, indeed. like Cardinal Morton and Bishop Fox, whom the perils of the time, and not personal ambition, had converted into wary politicians from the very outset of their careers, and whom the skill and experience thus gained recommended to the king's service, perhaps even to some extent against their own inclinations. But others, of whom in the next age Wolsey was the most conspicuous, conscious of ability for State affairs, were animated by a zeal, that could scarcely have been wholly unselfish, for the service of a king of most discriminating judgment, who quite understood their value. For either class lay politicians were a very unequal match. They understood far less about statesmanship than their more eminent clerical colleagues. But, on the other hand, these were harassed at times, especially the more conscientious among them, with a feeling that the service of the State was a kind of bondage from which they desired release to enable them to do better justice to the duties of their spiritual calling.

The secular functions into which the clergy were thus drawn were of two kinds, the higher that of ministers of State, the lower that of legal officials, ambassadors, and State orators. And the transition to both these grades from ordinary clerical duties was not at all unnatural. The common law, indeed, was left to secular judges—the clergy did not meddle with that. But equity was a matter in which some of them were, even by their professional education, well qualified to advise the king; for the study of the canon law brought with it that of natural equity. The lord chancellor was the official keeper of the king's conscience, and the lord chancellor had almost always been a churchman. So, too, had his assistant, the master of the rolls, sometimes called in that day *Vice Cancellarius*, or vice-chancellor.

Archbishop Deane.

Henry Deane, who held the See of Canterbury, as already stated, for not quite two years, had shown administrative abilities even in the days of Edward IV., but it was only as head of a religious establishment—the priory of Llanthony near Gloucester, to which, by the king's favour, he united the decaying parent house of Llanthony in Ewyas, then within the borders of Wales. His further advancement is supposed by some to

have been owing to Cardinal Morton, from whose public work in draining the fens of Ely he may have taken hints for the fencing of the Irish pale with a dyke and wall. As Bishop of Bangor he seems to have done much to restore order in a neglected and impoverished diocese, which had suffered by constant disputes between the Welsh and the English. But his chief work was the part he took in the settlement of Ireland, as the legal coadjutor to Sir Edward Poynings, for he was appointed lord chancellor of that country when Poynings was sent thither, and remained behind him as deputy governor after his recall.

Archbishop Warham.

William Warham, his successor, had recommended himself to Henry VII. as an able orator and a profound student of natural equity and public law. For these merits he had been selected by the king for various embassies, and had been rewarded by preferments which probably came to him unsought. In mind he was a thorough churchman and student, bountiful in the days of his greatness towards scholars like Erasmus, grand and unselfish in his expenditure in other ways, yet singularly abstemious in his own personal habits. At his enthronement he was attended by the Duke of Buckingham as his steward, and by other great men who owed feudal services to the archbishop. The duke alone brought 140 horses with him to Canterbury for the occasion. The banquet which followed was sumptuous beyond description. All the new archbishop's honours and offices, says Weever, "were drawn, depicted, or delineated after a strange manner, in gilded marchpane upon the banqueting dishes; and first, because he was brought up in the University of Oxford, the vice-chancellor with the bedels before him, and a multitude of scholars following him, were described to present" (*i.e.* were represented presenting) "to the king and the nobility sitting in Parliament this William Warham," with laudatory Latin verses on his career. Such were the glories of great churchmen; and in Warham they did not interfere with true humility. More trying, doubtless, were political responsibilities which he could not at all times shake off, for about the time he was made archbishop he was also made lord chancellor; and he was continually called to the king's councils. He seemed to live in two worlds at

once, and was certainly one of those who could not help feeling at times that the conditions of the two were not altogether harmonious. He was never an active politician, and never desired to be; but duty to the king as head of the State was as clear as duty to the Church, though in an extreme time of trial the latter duty, no doubt, would theoretically be the higher.

But who could have supposed in the latter days of Henry VII. that an extreme time of trial was near? How could such a thing have been credited even in the early days of Henry VIII., who, if tradition be not misleading, had himself been intended for the Church before his brother Arthur's death, and expected one day to be Archbishop of Canterbury? Indeed, putting tradition aside, we know quite well that Henry VIII. had all his days a taste for theological subtleties, and probably could not have done the things he did but that he was fully competent to argue points—of course with most royal persuasiveness—against Tunstall, Latimer, Cranmer, and any divine in his kingdom. No one could have had the smallest presentiment of the days that were to come, and any trials there might have been at that time were not beyond endurance.

No severe trials in prospect.

Bishops are naturally the political guardians of the Church. In times of feudal despotism it was they who stemmed the violence of tyrants and secured against oppression the rights both of the Church and of the nation. But after Becket's day the relations of the sovereign and the Church became more settled, and the former could only act upon the latter by conventional submission to its requirements. By this means, however, the sovereigns of England obtained what the violence of Henry II. had failed to obtain. They were supported and strengthened by the power with which their impatient predecessors had often been at war—nay, more, they obtained a very complete command over it in most things. The appointments to all bishoprics lay virtually with the Crown, for within the kingdom chapters of cathedrals were obsequious; and as for the popes, not in such matters only, but in almost everything that it was in their power to dispense, they generally showed

Power of the Crown in the government of the Church.

themselves most anxious to gratify the different sovereigns of Europe.

Of course they expected favours in return; and besides a number of customary exactions from the clergy, such as first-fruits and tenths of bishoprics, and payments for the expedition of bulls, they made application for some things to the king himself. The year 1500 was the year of jubilee at Rome, when pilgrims to the Eternal City were rewarded with full indulgence and remission of sins, to the great benefit of the papal exchequer. The moneys thus collected were much wanted for a crusade against the Turk —that constant enemy of Christendom—who had just taken Modon in Greece, and at this time menaced Italy itself. But, great as the amount was, it was by no means adequate. So, after the jubilee year was past, Pope Alexander VI., most considerately regarding the case of the multitudes who from poverty, sickness, or the too great labour of the journey, had not been able to visit the place where they might have received so much benefit, despatched nuncios into the different countries of Europe, offering the inhabitants the same benefits, on their depositing in the chests of certain special churches gratuities, according to a graduated scale of charges upon their incomes. Here, however, the different sovereigns of Europe commonly saw their advantage. They could not allow so much money to pass easily out of their realms for an object in which they were not all equally interested. It was a simple matter to make fine promises to the pope, admit nuncios into the realm, let collections be made, and then, on one pretext or another, detain the money collected. This was certainly done, not only by the needy Maximilian, King of the Romans, but by Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand of Spain, who diverted to their own uses moneys raised with a religious object. But Henry VII. of England really acted more honestly. He declined, indeed, for various reasons, to set on foot an expedition from England. The enemy was too far off, and apparently the king distrusted a combination of many nations, even if the pope himself was to be relied on. He also got the pope to forbear from levying by his own authority a subsidy on the clergy, as a thing contrary to the liberties of

Jubilee at Rome.

the kingdom. But he procured that subsidy himself from the clergy, calling upon both the archbishops to summon their convocations for the purpose; on which the province of Canterbury granted £13,000—somewhat more than the tenth which the pope himself solicited—and that of York, after some months' consideration, agreed to an exact tenth. So that it is not true, as has been supposed from his answer to his Holiness, that Henry declined to help the project at all. On the contrary, he not only authorised a collection within his realm, but gave Jasper Pon, the papal collector, £4000 out of his own purse. He only left it to those nations which were nearer the Turks, and knew their manner of fighting, to supply the men and apparel of war.

Bacon characterises Henry's reply to the pope as "rather solemn than serious," and yet adds that Jasper Pon was "nothing at all discontented with it." Jasper Pon, who had a present of £200 from the king for himself, had certainly no cause to be discontented with his liberality either towards him personally or towards the object of his mission. But Bacon did not know this, and very likely did know how papal applications for the raising of crusade money in other kingdoms were generally treated by the sovereigns. It was quite a mistake, however, to suppose that Henry had no real sympathy with such objects. In fact, it was not the first time he had authorised the levying of crusade money in his kingdom, though he frankly told the pope on a previous occasion that the heavy burdens his subjects had to sustain for the war in Brittany and the security of the kingdom made it advisable to defer publication of the indulgence. Later, in 1505, when Emmanuel, King of Portugal, proposed a crusade, Henry took up the subject warmly, and in 1507 he pressed it strongly on Pope Julius II., offering to take part in the expedition himself, and hoping that at least two other kings would join him. His zeal in the matter induced the Knights of Rhodes in 1506 to nominate him protector of their order, and won the utmost applause for him at Rome from the pope and cardinals. He was, indeed, to all appearance, much more in earnest about it than Pope Julius himself, who, though a very decided fighting pope where the temporal interests of the See of Rome

Henry VII. favoured a crusade.

were concerned, cared far less for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Turks than for purely Italian objects. In 1508 Julius joined the iniquitous league of Cambray for the spoliation of Venice; and not long before, he, like Leo X. after him, had issued a bull of indulgence for the rebuilding of St. Peter's, which was published in the spring of that year at St. Paul's. It had not long been exhibited there, however, before it was suppressed.

Julius II.

It was Julius II. who gave the dispensation for marrying Henry VII.'s son, afterwards King Henry VIII., to his brother Arthur's widow. The reader will scarcely require to be told how Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, after many years of negotiation and watching each other's fortunes, completed, in November 1501, the long talked of marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Katharine of Aragon, and how, in April following, Prince Arthur died. The Spanish sovereigns had paid but one out of three instalments of the bride's dowry, and conceived they had a right, which Henry disputed, to ask that one instalment back. But the matter was compromised by an agreement that the widow should marry Henry, the king's second son; and Queen Isabella, in particular, was anxious for her daughter's sake, who was left friendless in a foreign land, that the betrothal should take place as soon as possible, and a treaty made to give effect to it. The English king for some time hung back, but a treaty for the new marriage was actually concluded at Richmond on June 23rd, 1503; in which the sovereigns alike of Spain and England bound themselves to do their utmost to procure from the pope the dispensation necessary for a match in which the parties stood related to each other in the first degree of affinity. The terms of this treaty seem to have been drawn up in Spain, for it spoke of the affinity as arising from the first marriage having been both solemnised and consummated; whereas in truth, as Ferdinand soon discovered, it was known in England that no consummation had followed, Prince Arthur being very young and delicate. On August 23rd, however, Ferdinand urged his ambassador at Rome to procure a dispensation in

The dispensation for Katharine of Aragon's second marriage.

precise agreement with the words of the treaty, to avoid all possibility of cavil on the part of the English.

The pope to whom Ferdinand had intended to apply was Alexander VI., but he died in that very month of August, before the despatch was written; and his successor Pius III. died in October. Julius II. succeeded in November; but the case of marriage with a deceased brother's wife required some consideration, and even in July of the following year (1504) the pope in writing to Henry only talked about sending the dispensation a little later by Robert Sherborne, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. He conceded, however, to the entreaties of Isabella of Spain, who was then on her deathbed, what he had so long withheld from Henry; and, that she might die in peace, sent her a brief in the form of the desired bull, antedated December 26th, 1503. This he delivered for transmission to the Spanish ambassador under an oath of secrecy; but to his extreme annoyance, Ferdinand, very soon after it arrived in Spain, sent it on to England to show Henry that all obstacles to the match were now removed.

Thus Julius found himself committed to both parties equally; and, to make things right, in the spring of 1505 he commissioned Silvestro de' Gigli, Bishop of Worcester, to go to England and convey to Henry the bull of dispensation itself, which was to be the authority for the marriage, and of which the brief was a mere anticipation. The latter, it should be observed, was inaccurately spoken of at the time as a bull, or a copy of a bull, because its tenor was the same in all essential points as that of the bull which it was proposed to issue; but it was in form a brief, that is to say, a formal letter from the pope to Prince Henry and Katharine, not a public document, though its authority was very much the same. The bull, too, was antedated like the brief, December 26th, 1503; but there were some slight differences in the text besides the form of address—the result, no doubt, of fuller consideration; and among these was the little word *forsan* ("perhaps") qualifying the inaccurate statement that the marriage with Arthur had been actually consummated. It is important to remember these facts in connection with what took place a quarter of a century later.

The bull granted.

Henry VII., however, had no intention that the marriage should immediately take place. In spite of the bull, he professed to entertain some conscientious scruples about it. These, indeed, Archbishop Warham propounded, but on the king's part they apparently meant only that he had some differences yet to settle with Ferdinand before he could agree to it. He even considered about marrying his son Henry to the eldest daughter of Philip, Archduke of Austria, who had now become King of Castile by Queen Isabella's death, and might be, under good tuition, a formidable rival to Ferdinand in the affairs of Spain. By the treaty of 1503 it was agreed that the marriage with Katharine should take place so soon as Prince Henry completed his fourteenth year, which would be on June 28th, 1505. But on the 27th the Prince, no doubt by his father's direction, made a formal protest that the marriage with Katharine had been arranged without his consent, and that he refused to ratify what had been done in his minority. This was the king his father's way of meeting bad faith on the part of Ferdinand, who had not fulfilled his treaty engagements to have the whole remainder of the marriage portion in London by that date ready for delivery; and from this time, in fact, there was deep distrust between the two kings as long as King Henry lived. In the chess game they were continually playing against each other all that time the astute Ferdinand certainly found his match in the English king; for not only was he compelled at last to send the remainder of the marriage portion and renounce all future claims to it, but he saw himself, with all this, in danger still of losing his hold on Castile by Henry's betrothal of his daughter Mary to young Prince Charles, King Philip's eldest son, afterwards the renowned Emperor Charles V., and Henry coolly insisted that he should ratify the treaty for that marriage, else the other between his son and Katharine should not even yet take place.

Protest of Prince Henry.

Thus a very severe tension had arisen in the diplomatic relations of Henry VII. and Ferdinand just before the death of the former. But the accession of Henry VIII. in April 1509 made a complete change. Ferdinand was not afraid of being overreached by a youth in his teens, and agreed at once to what he had

Accession and marriage of Henry VIII.

refused to Henry VII.—the ratification of the treaty for the match of Charles and Mary. In England, on the other hand, although the propriety of marriage with a deceased brother's wife was still questioned by old councillors (of whom Archbishop Warham was the chief opponent), yet the young king himself was so decidedly inclined to fulfil the long engagement that the point was settled, no man pretending to doubt at that time that the papal dispensation was sufficient to give validity to what was doubtful. The marriage, accordingly, took place just nine weeks after the new king's accession, and Ferdinand rejoiced to think that his position in Europe was strengthened by a cordial ally and son-in-law. A very few years, unfortunately, sufficed to teach that son-in-law the depths of his duplicity.

Before going farther, however, with the story of the new reign, there are some things more to be said about the relations of the Church of England to Rome. Mention has already been made of Silvestro de' Gigli, Bishop of Worcester, who was sent to England by Julius II. with the bull of dispensation in 1505, and the name speaks for itself as that of an Italian. He was, in fact, a Lucchese, like his uncle Giovanni de' Gigli, who occupied the same bishopric of Worcester before him, and both were appointed to that bishopric by papal provision. Now papal provisions were an abuse and usurpation, against which numerous Acts of Parliament had been passed from the days of Edward III.; but their recipients, though under those statutes liable to imprisonment, had so often obtained the king's pardon that the statutes had to be renewed again and again, with almost ineffective warnings for the future, till latterly there was a sort of tacit compromise between Rome and England in favour of those ecclesiastics, chiefly foreigners, who showed themselves equally skilful to do service alike to pope and king. There was also a general understanding throughout Christendom that when the holder of any benefice died at Rome, it might be filled up by a nominee of the pope; and cases of the kind were not infrequent, as bishops and other clergy were drawn to Rome by many causes. Giovanni de' Gigli died there, and it was no doubt by virtue of this claim that Alexander VI. bestowed his bishopric upon the nephew. As for the uncle, he had been a papal agent

Italian churchmen beneficed in England.

resident at the courts of Edward IV. and Henry VII., and had written elegant court poetry for state occasions. The nephew was made an English bishop seven years before he visited the country in which his bishopric lay.

Another Italian for some time at Henry VII.'s court was Adrian de Castello (or de Corneto, as he was called from his birthplace), who was papal collector of Peter's pence, and on the death of Pope Innocent VIII. returned to Rome. He remained for the rest of his life in Italy, but while there was provided by successive popes, first to the bishopric of Hereford in 1502, then to that of Bath and Wells in 1504. He was enthroned in the latter See by proxy, his representative being Polydore Vergil, the agent for all his affairs in England, who received and transmitted to him the revenues of his bishopric. He was known at Rome as the rich cardinal, and built a fine palace there near the Vatican, in front of which he inscribed the name of his patron, the King of England. It was here that he entertained Pope Alexander VI. at that fatal supper at which the pope was said to have been poisoned by wine out of a flagon which he had intended his host to drink of. But the scandal seems to have originated with Adrian himself, who, it must be said, is not very trustworthy. His palace at Rome was afterwards given by Henry VIII. to Cardinal Campeggio. Polydore Vergil was a native of Urbino, sent to England by Alexander VI. as sub-collector to Adrian, and, with the exception of one or two brief visits to Italy, he remained in the country nearly fifty years. For although, as we shall see, he was deprived by Wolsey of his office of sub-collector, he held many English preferments, the principal of which was the archdeaconry of Wells. Being an excellent scholar, a friend and at first a sort of literary rival of Erasmus, with whom he had much intercourse in England, he devoted many years of his life to writing in Latin a most masterly history of the country of his adoption, which he completed in 1533.

All these Italian churchmen were humanists, and so were a few others of less note, like Henry VII.'s Latin secretary, Pietro Carmeliano, a native of Brescia, who wrote Latin poems for state occasions, and received Church preferments in England from the royal bounty.

AUTHORITIES.—Busch's *England under the Tudors*, vol. i., contains not only a full account of the reign of Henry VII., but an exhaustive list of authorities for the period, with a critical examination of the value of the older writers. But to verify the facts in this chapter the books most required will be Le Neve's *Fasti* (Hardy's ed.); Bacon's *Henry VII.*; *Memorials of Henry VII.* in Rolls ser.; *Letters and Papers of Richard III. and Henry VII.* in the same series; *Calendar of State Papers*, Spanish, vol. i., and Venetian, vol. i.; *Dictionary of National Biography* (for Adrian de Castello, Deane, Fox, and Warham); and Gairdner and Spedding's *Studies in English History*. A valuable Life of Bishop Fox by Mr. E. C. Batten is prefixed to his edition of Fox's Register as Bishop of Bath and Wells, and a further account of him will be found in Fowler's *History of Corpus Christi College*. Bp. Creighton's *History of the Papacy* may also be consulted. As to Archbishop Warham's opposition to young Henry's marriage with Katharine see an original document in Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* (Kennett's *History of England*, ii. 113).

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII. AND THE HOLY LEAGUE

THE first two or three years of the reign of Henry VIII. were years of peace and prosperity at home, and the king's marriage and his alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon not only removed unpleasantness with a powerful prince abroad, but preserved England from being entangled prematurely in European complications. For on the Continent those years were years of war and disturbance, especially in the Church.

Consequences of the league of Cambray.

The wicked league of Cambray had not been many months concluded when mutual jealousies arose among the powers that signed it. Louis XII. came down on Italy, won the battle of Agnadello (May 14th, 1509), and was soon master of the best part of the Venetian territory, while Maximilian harassed the rest without making any effectual gain. This was not pleasant for Julius II., nor for Ferdinand of Aragon either. Young Henry VIII. sympathised with the Venetians, and wished to procure their reconciliation both with the pope and the emperor, having a strong desire, in fact, to turn the tables and make a new league against France, from which, for a time, he was withheld by his prudent father-in-law. But in the latter part of that year he sent as his ambassador to Rome Christopher Bainbridge, whom the late king, just before his death, had rapidly promoted, first to the bishopric of Durham and afterwards (in succession to Dr. Savage) to the archbishopric of York. He arrived at Rome on November 24th, and was met, as other ambassadors usually were, on entering the city by the pope's attendants, the cardinals, and the whole body of ambassadors resident, except

that of Venice. For Julius had excommunicated the Venetian State just before the French invasion, and the representative of the Signory durst not present himself on public occasions, but sent a private message to Bainbridge to explain matters; to which Bainbridge said in reply that the king was a warm friend of the Signory and had written to the pope in its favour.

The attitude of England, no doubt, and, it may be added, of Scotland also—for James IV. was at one with his brother-in-law on this subject, and had renewed the treaty between the two countries in August 1509—helped powerfully to convince Pope Julius that he must make friends once more with Venice, and in February 1510 he absolved the Signory from excommunication. Pope Julius II. and Henry VIII. He was anxious to draw Henry VIII. into a league against France, and Henry told him that he would make none in which Venice was not included, while James IV. felt so warmly towards the Republic that he was eager to be their captain-general against the Infidels. Henry so strongly disapproved of the action of France against Venice that the pope now calculated on his alliance and sent him the golden rose, which was usually blessed before Easter as a present to one or other European sovereign. Just after the despatch of the messenger, however, disquieting news came to Rome that the English king had made a treaty with France; which, in truth, was actually proclaimed in London on April 1st. Bainbridge professed to have heard nothing of it, and was deeply ashamed. Pope Julius said to him furiously, "You are all rascals!" But it was not a treaty against Venice, whose cause England still maintained; it was rather a treaty which France had sought in fear of uncomfortable complications. In point of fact, it was England that induced Louis XII., during the summer, to withdraw his troops from Italy for the time; and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who at this time directed Henry's counsels, told the Venetian ambassador that the Signory had only to watch events and rely on the speedy dissolution of the league.

But Julius took advantage of the withdrawal of the French to press matters further. He now took Venice as an ally, came himself to Bologna, excommunicated the Duke of

Ferrara whom he had in vain attempted to detach from the league, and made very earnest efforts to win over the Emperor Maximilian. In the depth of a bitter winter his Holiness took command of his own army, shared their hardships, and with helmet and breastplate buckled on him led them to the siege of Mirandola, which he won in January 1511. Then, seeing that the French cardinals were all opposed to him, he created at Ravenna on March 10th eight new cardinals, of whom the first was Archbishop Bainbridge, reserving *in petto* another hat for Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gurk, chief minister of the emperor, in the hope that he would be able to get him and his master to desert the French; but in this he was disappointed. So Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gurk, was not made a cardinal by Pope Julius, though he was, two years later, by his successor Leo X. As for Bainbridge, no sooner had he received that honour than he did what the warlike pope expected of him. Like Julius himself, he took the command of a body of 4000 soldiers, and entered into the war.

The warlike pope.

But the fortune of war soon turned. Julius left the city of Bologna in May, as he thought, in sufficient custody; but it was immediately re-entered by its old masters the Bentivogli, and the French coming up put the papal and Venetian forces to flight, while the French cardinals convoked a Council to meet at Pisa in September, with a view to deposing the pope. Julius found it necessary to hurry back to Rome, and met the summoning of the Council by convoking one of his own to meet at the Lateran in April 1512. Things came round to his side once more. The Council at Pisa did not promise well. Even Maximilian gave it but half-hearted support, and when it opened at the time appointed it was too exclusively French. The Germans had not yet decided upon sending bishops thither. Ferdinand, too, had made up his mind to desert France, and caused the army that he had raised in Spain, ostensibly against the Moors, to go to Naples and secure his possession there. A league called the Holy League was formed at Rome, October 5th, between the pope and Ferdinand and the Venetians in pursuance of the policy of Julius to chase "the barbarians" (as he called the French and

The Council of Pisa, Sept. 1, 1511.

Henry VIII. joins the Holy League.

other foreigners) from Italy; and a place being left for England, Henry joined it on November 13th.

Thus was the young king fully committed to a war with France. It was twenty years since England had been at war, and the brief campaign which ended with the treaty of Etaples hardly deserved to be called war at all. Under the peaceful policy of Henry VII. the people had been quite unused to it; and as there was no standing army in those days, there was no military experience at command. Occasionally some conspicuous nobleman or gentleman might get his sovereign's leave to go and fight against the Turks, in aid of the Emperor Maximilian. Sir Robert Curzon had been ennobled by the emperor for such a service, and was called Lord Curzon in England. And in this very year Lord Darcy had sailed with a band of English archers to Spain to aid Ferdinand against the Moors. But though their assistance had been asked for by Ferdinand himself, they arrived only to find that they were not wanted; for Ferdinand, in view of a war with France, had made a truce with the unbelievers for the security of his kingdom, and the English returned home after committing some irregularities which brought them into collision with the natives. Of military discipline the people knew really nothing. And this was not the only difficulty; for the mustering of troops, the fitting out of ships, the victualling of land and sea forces, and a multitude of things to which that generation were total strangers, required a master hand to control, and where was any such to be found? Not among the nobility or gentry of the realm; but the man was found in a known and rising churchman.

Rise of Wolsey.

The marked abilities of Thomas Wolsey had been discerned even by Henry VII., who towards the close of his reign had sent him on two delicate diplomatic missions, the one to Scotland to prevent James IV. from coming to a rupture with England, the other to Flanders on matters connected with the king's projected marriage with Margaret of Savoy. There is an extraordinary story of his despatch in the latter business recorded by Cavendish on Wolsey's own authority, but certainly with some inaccuracies of detail due to the lapse of time. We need not doubt, however, that he discharged his mission to Calais, if

not farther, with amazing celerity; so that he may have been back again at Richmond, as stated, the third night after his departure, and thus made the king next morning at first believe that he had unwarrantably delayed his setting out. His services were recognised by Henry VII. by his promotion to the deanery of Lincoln, and even from the beginning of the new reign further preferments flowed in upon him. Henry VIII. in his very first year appointed him his almoner, and by this title he was known for some time. But for the first two years of the new reign we see nothing of him in public life. The young king was governed in politics by the old and experienced councillors of his father, especially by the aged Bishop Fox of Winchester; and his foreign policy was greatly influenced by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon. It is only in August 1511 that we find Wolsey for the first time signing documents as a member of the Privy Council.

We are told with great probability by Polydore Vergil that Wolsey owed his introduction to the Council to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, to counterbalance the influence of Thomas, Earl of Surrey. But there is malice in what Polydore further tells us that he soon won over the king by his witty talk and jesting, and his unclerical singing and dancing, and that to avoid observation he had his sovereign to his own house, which he made "a chapel of all pleasures," showed him the impolicy of putting the kingdom under too many rulers, and undertook to govern it better if the whole charge was committed to himself. Scandal of this kind might be current, and as far as the moral aspect of it is concerned there may have been some truth in it, for Wolsey was not too scrupulous. But Polydore had his own reasons, which we shall see hereafter, for saying ugly things of him; and they who believed that Wolsey's ambition ever hoped to gain absolute control of public affairs without the intelligent assent of the king in all things, knew nothing of the secrets of the Council-board as revealed in our day by State papers. Wolsey, no doubt, often did direct the king's policy in after years when it was policy of a very unpopular kind, and he bore all the unpopularity alone, though the king distinctly approved what he had done. He even bore at times the unpopularity of measures which were not his own

His unpopularity.

when the king required a scapegoat; and it is wonderful how in the early years of the reign people seemed to be convinced that "the king could do no wrong."

It was thus that, from the moment he became a man of public importance, Wolsey likewise became the target of much ignorant and malicious scandal; which, indeed, increased towards the end of his career, because to avoid absolute ruin he had to bear the king's sins as well as his own. "Since his death," wrote his faithful servant Cavendish, "I have heard divers surmises and imagined tales made of his proceedings and doings, which I myself have perfectly known to be most untrue; unto the which I could have sufficiently answered according to truth, but, as me seemeth, then it was much better for me to suffer and dissemble the matter, and the same to remain still as lies, than to reply against *their* untruth of whom I might, for my boldness, sooner have kindled a great flame of displeasure than to quench one spark of their malicious untruth."

It may have been Surrey's influence that prevented Wolsey's entrance into the Council till the new reign was more than two years old; for his merits were already well known, and it is remarkable that, whereas he had been employed on two embassies by Henry VII., he seems to have exercised no political functions at all during this interval. But Henry VIII.'s entrance into the "Holy League" at once afforded a vent for his energies which evidently could not be denied him. It may be that the general plan of the war in the following year was not actually drawn up by him, but he was certainly supposed to have influenced it. A fleet was to harass the northern shores of France. An army was to be landed in Spain and to co-operate with the troops of Ferdinand in the invasion of Guienne. The fleet, which was placed under the command of Sir Edward Howard, conducted the vessels containing the troops sent to Spain as far as the coast of Brittany. The troops were under the command of the Marquess of Dorset. But neither expedition led to very satisfactory results. Sir Edward Howard took the French at first by surprise and committed merciless ravages in Brittany; but afterwards the largest ship of his fleet, *The Regent*, caught fire along with a French vessel grappled to her, and both ships

The war.

burned to the water's edge. But in Spain much worse things happened. Both sailors and soldiers became unruly. They were severely tried by the climate and heavy rains, and they could not feel kindly to the King of Aragon, who kept them inactive while he himself secured his own special prize, the kingdom of Navarre. They mutinied and said that Mr. Almoner was the cause of their discomforts. Finally, they insisted on coming home without orders, and forced their generals to comply.

This disgraceful insubordination and breach of discipline was doubtless encouraged to some extent by the knowledge of Wolsey's unpopularity with influential noblemen like Surrey, who conceived that they had a right to direct the king's Councils by virtue of their very position. But the king, in his indignation at the result, only bestowed his confidence the more freely on his almoner, who even now began to have special secrets of State committed to him alone of all the Council. And we must presume it was owing to the disgrace in Spain that just at that time the Earl of Surrey experienced such a reception from the king that he withdrew from Court; on which Wolsey, writing to Bishop Fox, ventured to suggest that it might not be difficult then permanently to exclude him from it: "Whereof, in my poor judgment," he adds, "no little good should ensue." Mr. Almoner had already a higher place in the king's confidence than the best of the nobility, and his services were more wanted now than ever to devise new expeditions which should wipe out a stain upon the national honour. For months he was busily engaged in duties anything but clerical—in matters relating to the provision of shipping and transports, victuals, conduct money, and the like. The strain upon his energies was intense, and his friend and patron Fox writes to him, seriously hoping that it will not last long, else his "outrageous charge and labour" will certainly ruin his digestion and deprive him of his sleep.

The honour of England was retrieved in April 1513 by the gallant death of Admiral Sir Edward Howard in boarding a French galley under heavy fire from the land. Then followed the invasion of France in the summer, in which Wolsey accompanied the king, and which was distinguished by the capture of Therouanne and Tournay; while James IV. of Scotland,

seizing the opportunity for a war with England, invaded the Borders and fell at Flodden. At the conquest of Tournay the bishopric of that city happened to be vacant, and the pope at Henry's request conferred it upon Wolsey. His right to the See, however, was disputed by a French bishop, Louis Guillard, who had got the length of being elected to it, and Wolsey never obtained possession till five years later, when, in the peace made with France, he surrendered his claim for a pension of 1200 livres. Meanwhile, in the course of the year 1514, he was promoted first to the bishopric of Lincoln, and then to the archbishopric of York, which became vacant by the death of Cardinal Bainbridge at Rome.

The bishopric of Tournay.

But we have passed by some things which require to be related before we go farther. However fruitless as regards England itself were the naval and military operations of 1512, Henry VIII.'s entrance into the Holy League undoubtedly gave that confederacy a strength and efficacy which it would not have received from the united exertions of all the other allies. For, in fact, the League was very nearly crushed before many months were over by the great victory of the French in the battle of Ravenna (April 11th, 1512); and though their gallant young general, Gaston de Foix, lost his life in the engagement, the victors were for a short time supreme in the north of Italy. Rome was filled with consternation, and the fiery old Julius himself seems to have been meditating whether to treat with France through the Florentines or to escape by sea to Naples. But France had then reason to dread an attack from England. Just before the battle in Italy the English Parliament had met. It was opened, as usual, by Archbishop Warham as chancellor with a sermon—the text being, curiously enough (Ps. lxxxv. 10), "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other," in which he insisted on righteousness as the only way to victory in the wars of princes. Englishmen had no doubt of the righteousness of a war with France, especially when that nation set up a schismatic Council, and Parliament gave the king a subsidy. The French king could not spare reinforcements for Italy, and the conquering army was too far from its base. The pope recovered courage and excommunicated Louis XII. Italy

Effect of England's joining the League.

was soon cleared of the invaders, but the pope was determined to continue the war against them in order completely to extinguish the schismatic Council; which was, indeed, obliged first to withdraw to Milan and then afterwards to Lyons, where it finally disappeared. But meanwhile the expulsion of the French from Italy had left the allies to dispute old claims among themselves. The Emperor, who, finding the alliance of France unprofitable, came over to the pope, wanted all the Venetian territory which had been allotted to him by the treaty of Cambray; and the pope, to secure his adhesion to the Lateran Council against the *Conciliabulum* of Pisa (to which he had given no material support, after he had helped to start it), once more allied himself with him against the Venetians.

Julius II. died in February 1513, and Leo X., who was elected next month as his successor, continued the war against France. Next year he sent Henry VIII. a cap and sword by Leonardo de' Spinelli, whose coming to England with the consecrated gifts was an affair of much ceremony. He was met by the bishops at the seaside, and when he reached Blackheath by the Duke of Suffolk, by the Marquess of Dorset, by Wolsey as Bishop of Lincoln, and by all the spears. When he came to the west door of St. Paul's he was met by Archbishop Warham, and by the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, and Exeter *in pontificalibus*. Proceeding with the choir to the high altar, he there deposited the cap and sword, after which he retired to the Austin Friars. Next Sunday the king came to the cathedral, and under a "travers" near the high altar the envoy was introduced to him and delivered the pope's letters, to which an answer was made by Dr. Tunstall. The king then went in procession, with his own sword as well as the pope's borne before him, the latter being borne by Spinelli. The cap was then put upon the king's head and the sword girt about him by Archbishop Warham. Then mass was sung; after which the king returned to his palace, the sword sent by the pope being borne by the Duke of Suffolk, by whom it was ultimately delivered in the king's chamber into the hands of the vice-chamberlain.

Leo X. sends Henry VIII. a cap and sword.

Leo X. also promised to Cardinal Bainbridge to fulfil an intention of his predecessor, Julius II., of conferring upon

Henry VIII. the title of "Most Christian King" which Louis of France had forfeited. Bainbridge, some months before his death, notified this offer to the king, and was surprised to find no notice taken of it. He believed that his letters had been kept back by De' Gigli, Bishop of Worcester, of whom he had a bad opinion. But it is not impossible that Henry was thinking even then that peace and friendship with France might be better than enmity.

Death of Cardinal Bainbridge at Rome.

Cardinal Bainbridge died at Rome in 1514. His executor, Richard Pace, suspected him to have been poisoned by a priest named Rainaldo of Modena. The man, being taken and committed to the castle of St. Angelo, confessed the deed after being tortured, and said he had been instigated to it by Bishop de' Gigli, who gave him money to buy the poison. He afterwards retracted the statement about the bishop's complicity, and ended by stabbing himself. Pace then caused process to be begun against De' Gigli and one of his chamberlains. De' Gigli, however, maintained that the priest was a lunatic whom he had dismissed from his service in England, and the king and Wolsey expressed themselves satisfied as to his innocence. The deceased cardinal bore an evil character with some, for avarice, pride, and anger; and even his friend Pace admitted that he had some vices which could not be denied; but Pace was grieved that he should be defamed by De' Gigli after he was dead, as he was most faithful in promoting the king's interests at Rome. One might certainly suspect that De' Gigli's usefulness to the king and Wolsey—especially to the latter in connection with his promotion to be Bainbridge's successor at York—tended somewhat to blind the eyes of justice. But it must be remarked that the case was pretty fully inquired into at Rome, and that De' Gigli was unanimously acquitted a few months later by the whole College of Cardinals.

Wolsey Archbishop of York.

The bulls for Wolsey's promotion to the archbishopric of York were dated September 15th, 1514; and if such promotions should be earned by political services, one would say this was very well earned indeed. In that year Wolsey had rescued the king from the hands of faithless allies. For after Henry's shifty father-in-law

Ferdinand had a second time negotiated with the enemy behind his back, and persuaded the Emperor Maximilian to join in the perfidy, they both discovered suddenly that they had been overreached by a more astute diplomacy, and that a new and very close alliance had sprung up between England and France before they were aware. It was to be cemented, of course, by a marriage—one of the most shameful of the political matches so common in those days. Henry actually consented to make his sister Mary, a beautiful girl of eighteen, the bride of Louis XII., a broken-down man of fifty-two. The marriage took place in October with great magnificence at Abbeville, and a new chapter of European history seemed just to have opened, when King Louis died on the 1st January following.

AUTHORITIES.—*Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray;* Guicciardini's *History of Italy; Nouvelle Biographie* (for Julius II.); *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (Calendar), vol. i.; Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.;* Herbert's *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* (which may be consulted in vol. ii. of Kennett's *Complete History of England*); *Dictionary of National Biography* (articles "Bainbridge" and "Wolsey"); *Polydori Vergilii Anglica Historia;* Hall's *Chronicle.* Julius II.'s intention of conferring on Henry VIII. the title "Most Christian King" is mentioned by Guicciardini, book xi.

CHAPTER III

THE CASE OF RICHARD HUNNE

MEANWHILE, just before the close of the year 1514, all London was excited about a very suspicious affair which had taken place in St. Paul's Cathedral. A citizen named Richard Hunne, a merchant-tailor, who had been committed to the Lollard's Tower for heresy, was found dead in his place of confinement, hanging by the neck by a silk girdle. He had been a well-to-do man, and had undoubtedly borne a fair character until his heresy was detected—for an imputation of heresy in those days blighted a man's good name. What gave rise to the charge in his case is not precisely stated; but presently he got into a dispute with the incumbent of his parish about a claim for the burial of an infant child, in which the bearing-sheet was demanded as what was called a mortuary. This he refused to give, on the plea that the infant had no property in it, and the priest cited him for it in the spiritual court. Such claims may well have been disliked by others besides Hunne; but when resisted, a citation, of course, was the natural way of determining whether they were legitimate or not by spiritual law; and the plea urged for refusal certainly seems rather a captious one. To avoid a trial, Hunne fell upon the device of setting the temporal law against the spiritual by suing the priest who claimed the mortuary in a *præmunire*, as if the cause in dispute came within the jurisdiction of the king's courts and not those of the Church. The king's courts, however, decided against him that it was quite clearly a matter for an ecclesiastical

Richard Hunne found hanged.

tribunal; and Hunne was mortified to find that he had to await in prison a charge of heresy, the prosecution of which had been suspended by the bishop during the trial of his action of *præmunire*. It was this disappointment, some said, that preyed upon his mind and drove him to despair; but many others insisted that it was a case of murder, not of suicide.

Nature of heresy.

In connection with this and other matters it must be borne in mind that the word heresy in those days did not indicate a mere state of opinion at variance with that of the Church. Thought is by nature free, but the individual was expected to show due deference to authority. Knotty points of theology were discussed by competent persons at the universities, and a well-trained clergy could remove stumbling-blocks in the way of humble inquirers; but it was a sacred duty not to allow erroneous beliefs to spread and pollute the faith of the people. The Church, however, possessed, strictly speaking, only one means of repressing their growth, and that was suasion. If argument failed, it could only have recourse to excommunication; for it seemed there could be no real communion, no really united society, where individuals were free to declare themselves wiser than the Church, and to endeavour to thwart it in the very object of its mission. But after excommunication, a further step naturally followed. The excommunicated heretic had forfeited the privileges of his baptism; he was no longer a member of the Church, and he must therefore be handed over to the secular power to undergo secular punishment. It was not really the bishops who burned heretics, as the latter continually asserted; for the bishops and the Church had done with them altogether when they were excommunicated and handed over to the civil power. It is true the Church had for ages insisted that burning was the right punishment for an irreclaimable heretic, and, moreover, that the civil ruler incurred excommunication who refused to execute the sentence; but it was the general feeling, besides, of all political rulers that heresy was dangerous to civil order, and that, if the Church could do nothing to cure such perversity, the offender must be committed to the flames.

Now, it would be wrong to suppose that as yet there was great objection felt to this state of matters among the community. Men in those days were accustomed to rough remedies for evils of every kind, and heresy was admitted to be an evil of a very serious character. Yet there was always a good deal of it simmering among the population. And it would seem that, in London especially, among the commercial classes, there was not only a good deal of disaffection to the teaching of the Church on different subjects, but a desire to depreciate Church authority and jurisdiction, particularly in matters which touched the pocket. Of course, these feelings were much encouraged some years later, when men perceived the widening breach between the king and the court of Rome on the subject of his divorce, and things were spoken, written, and printed, with the underhand connivance of the highest authority, which would never have been tolerated only a few years before. All this must be taken into account in reading what is said in histories about the death of Hunne; for, unhappily, what is commonly related is derived entirely from statements in Hall's *Chronicle*, which was published in the later years of Henry VIII., and which is inspired throughout by a manifest bias against the clergy.

Hall's *Chronicle*.

It must be conceded, indeed, that Hall's *Chronicle* is, for the reign of Henry VIII., quite an invaluable source of information, being, in fact, a careful, orderly, and, in most things, a very accurate record of events. But we must be on our guard against the author's bias, for his unfairness on some particular subjects goes the length of positive dishonesty. He was a lawyer of Gray's Inn, subservient to the Court, and what in later days would have been called a bitter Puritan. Professional prejudices against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, perhaps, went to increase his sympathy with heretics, and his hatred of Church courts and of Cardinal Wolsey; but of his spite against ecclesiastical authority there is no doubt, and so good an opportunity did he find for gratifying it in connection with the death of Hunne, that he is not satisfied without devoting ten closely printed pages of his history to what professes to be a *verbatim* report of "the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest."

Now, the case was undoubtedly, on the face of it, sus-

picious enough, and it lost none of its unpleasant aspect in the process of this inquiry, of which we can only give the salient points. The jury's report, as given by Hall, begins: "We found the body of the said Hunne hanging upon a staple of iron in a girdle of silk, with fair countenance, his head fair kemed (combed), and his bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eyen and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning; also without any drivelling or spurging in any place of his body. Whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take down the body, and as soon as we began to heave the body it was loose; whereby by good advisement we perceived that the girdle had no knot above the staple, but it was double cast, and the links of an iron chain, which did hang on the same staple, were laid upon the same girdle whereby he did hang. Also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean toward his right shoulder. Notwithstanding, there came out of his nostrils two small streams of blood, to the quantity of four drops; save only these four drops of blood the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar and shirt of the said Hunne was clean from any blood. Also we find that the skin, both of his neck and throat, beneath the girdle of silk was fret and faced away with that thing that the murderers had broken his neck withal. Also the hands of the said Hunne were wrung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound. Moreover we find that within the said prison was no mean whereby any man might hang himself but only a stool; which stool stood upon a bolster of a bed, so tickle that any man or beast might not touch it so little but it was ready to fall. Whereby we perceived that it was not possible that Hunne might hang himself, the stool so standing. Also the girdle from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang a great parcel of blood. Also we find upon the left side of Hunne's jacket from the breast downward two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his

Report of the inquest.

jacket we find a great cluster of blood, and the jacket folden down thereupon; which thing the said Hunne could never fold nor do after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth plainly to us all that the neck of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed before he was hanged."

This is about one-thirteenth part of what is given by Hall as the finding of the jury, with the coroner's signature at the end. The remainder, however, contains a large number of depositions and other documents, some of which are distinctly of later date than the inquest itself, and to embody them in what professes to be a *verbatim* report of that finding was a thing which admits of no justification. For the inquest itself bears a very precise date at the beginning—the 5th and 6th December in the sixth year of Henry VIII. (1514)—and, some way after the passage already quoted, refers to a statement made in the Tower of London by Charles Joseph, the Bishop of London's sumner, one of the alleged murderers. But depositions immediately following speak of Charles Joseph as being at perfect liberty on the Wednesday night after Hunne's death, who, it appears, was found dead on Monday the 4th December; so that the statement made by Charles Joseph must have been certainly later than the 6th, which was the date of the inquest. Then, again, we have, with a special heading, "the deposition of Robert Johnson and his wife dwelling at the Bell in Shoreditch, where Charles Joseph set his horse that night that he came to town to murder Richard Hunne." This deposition alleges that Charles Joseph sent his horse to the Bell "upon a holiday at night about three weeks before Christmas"—a statement which clearly must have been made *after* Christmas, and therefore at least three weeks later than the inquest. This deposition also contains evidence of words used by Peter Turner, Joseph's son-in-law, and James, Chancellor Horsey's cook, before Hunne's death, tending to show that that death had been preconcerted. Immediately after which occurs this passage: "And we of the inquest asked both of Peter Turner and of James Cook where they had knowledge that Hunne should so shortly die; and they said 'In Master Chancellor's place,' by every man."

Anachronisms in the alleged finding.

What are we to make of all this? A deposition taken

some time after Christmas mentions suspicious words used by Peter Turner and James Cook on the 1st December—"the Friday before Hunne's death," as the date is given in the document. "And we of the inquest," it is added, put questions thereupon. But how could this be if the inquest was taken on the 5th and 6th December, as stated expressly at the head? We find ourselves in a tangle of very explicit statements that we know not how to reconcile. Moreover, we have another deposition—that of Richard Horsnayle, "bailiff of the sanctuary town of Good Easter in Essex"[1]—testifying that Charles Joseph became a sanctuary man on "Friday before Christmas day last past." And this, too, is embodied in the inquest of the 5th and 6th December! So also are the two documents which immediately follow, both of which appear to be of the following year (1515), the first being headed: "The copy of my lord of London's letter sent to my lord Cardinal" (*i.e.* to Wolsey, who was only created cardinal in September 1515), and the second: "The words that my lord of London spake before the lords in the Parliament Chamber."

These last two documents are so glaringly out of place as part of the inquest that we might suppose they at least had been printed where they stand by inadvertence—a theory which does not very well apply to the documents preceding. They are, moreover, very instructive papers taken by themselves, and partly afford a key to these extraordinary accusations. The verdict of the coroner's jury accused by name Dr. Horsey, the Bishop of London's chancellor, Charles Joseph, his sumner, and John Spalding, bellringer, of wilful murder; and these persons were accordingly committed to prison. There Charles Joseph, "by pain and durance," was induced to accuse himself and the others. And on this the Bishop of London (Richard Fitz-James) wrote to Wolsey, who had now become cardinal, begging his intercession with the king to have the matter fully inquired into "by indifferent persons of his discreet Council in the presence of the parties" before any further proceedings were taken, and on proof of his chancellor's innocence that

The Bishop of London's complaint of the citizens.

[1] In the report published by Keilwey on Standish's case it is said that Hunne took sanctuary at Westminster. He may have escaped afterwards from Westminster into Essex.

his Majesty might "award a placard unto his Attorney to confess the said indictment to be untrue. . . . For assured am I (adds the bishop) if my chancellor be tried by any twelve men in London, they be so maliciously set *in favorem hæreticæ pravitatis* that they will cast and condemn any clerk, though he were as innocent as Abel."

It is certain that Wolsey responded to this appeal, and that the king authorised an inquiry such as the bishop desired, as we shall see presently. Moreover, it would seem that proceedings of some kind were taken against the jury for returning a false verdict; and that the friends of the jury, impatient of that imputation, got a bill brought into Parliament in 1515 to make them "true men." This was the occasion of the speech quoted by Hall, which the Bishop of London delivered "before the lords in the Parliament Chamber." He declared upon his conscience that the jury "were false perjured caitiffs; and said furthermore to all the lords there then being, 'For the love of God, look upon this matter; for if ye do not, I dare not keep mine own house for heretics'; and said that the said Richard Hunne hanged himself, and that it was his own deed and no man's else."

Inquiry ordered by the king.

So then, according to Bishop Fitz-James's view, the jury on the inquest were actually perjured, and so strong was the feeling against the clergy in the city of London that any twelve men there would be glad to condemn any clergyman, even though he were "as innocent as Abel." The case seems strange, and may suggest to the modern reader the inquiry, Were the citizens of London really so unjust? Or were the clergy themselves so depraved as to merit such unpopularity? Perhaps the most charitable view, as well as the most probable, is that the case was one of public opinion run mad, being carried away by false but plausible evidences. For, of course, the verdict of the jury, even if it had not been supported by the sumner's extorted confession, was calculated to arouse the most intense indignation; and the jury themselves, though their treatment of evidences was most unfair, and apparently dishonest in some things, were probably convinced that they had returned a righteous verdict. That they had no notion of weighing evidences may be surmised even from one or two

points in their finding—as, for instance, that about the stool on which Hunne could not possibly have balanced himself in order to hang himself. This conclusion of course implies that the furniture of the chamber had been quite undisturbed and unchanged when the jury viewed it; but if so, what becomes of the theory set forth in the inquest, that the murderers first killed Hunne and afterwards heaved the body into the position in which it was found hanging by a silk girdle? It must have been still more difficult, one would think, for murderers by the aid of that "tickle" stool to hoist a dead body into such a position than it could have been for the living man to hang himself.

What More says of the case.

On the merits of the case, however, we may appeal to one who was not a clergyman, and whose honesty and judgment are above suspicion. Some twelve or thirteen years later, when Sir Thomas More was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, he wrote a treatise called a *Dialogue*, grounded on a real or supposed message sent him by a friend in the country, desiring his guidance upon certain matters connected with heresy which were creating uneasiness, and, among others, the unpleasant rumours about the death of Hunne. In this *Dialogue* Sir Thomas professes to report the conversation that he had with the messenger as nearly as he could remember it; and he points out very clearly that the rumours which the messenger took for positive facts were absolutely groundless, as the reader will see by the following extracts:—

> Why, quod he, do ye know the matter well? Forsooth, quod I, so well I know it from top to toe that I suppose there be not many men that knoweth it much better. For I have not only been divers times present myself at certain examinations thereof, but have also divers and many times sunderly talked with almost all such (except the dead man himself) as most knew of the matter; which matter was many times in sundry places examined. But specially at Baynard's Castle one day was it examined at great length and by a long time, every man being sent for before, and ready there all that could be found that anything could tell in the matter; and this examination was had before divers great lords, spiritual and temporal, and others of the king's honourable Council sent thither by his Highness for the

nones, of his blessed zeal and princely desire borne to the searching of the truth. Whereunto his gracious mind was much inclined, and had been by a right honourable man informed that there was one that showed a friend of his that he could take him by the sleeve that killed Hunne.

The messenger remarked that he had heard this statement, and that the man went so far to justify his assertion that he pointed out some one to the Council as the actual murderer; but on being asked how he knew it he confessed it was by the unlawful art of necromancy, and the bishops would have had him burned for witchcraft. Thus apparently the belief in some unknown murderer, notwithstanding that the verdict of the jury had been discredited, was still kept up by superstition. The messenger added that, as he understood, there was another witness before the Lords who had seen many men that hanged themselves, because he had held office under several of the king's almoners, who were entitled to the goods of suicides as deodands, and that this man had shown clearly from his experience that Hunne had not hanged himself. Moreover, a clergyman, who was a friend of Chancellor Horsey, had been obliged to admit before the Lords that he had told a layman that Hunne would never have been accused of heresy if he had not sued the *præmunire*. This, however, the messenger observed, "went not so near the matter as the other two things did."

"Yes, in good faith," replied More, "all three like near, that they were all heard." And he added that there were many other things still more suspicious, which when investigated turned out not to be so serious. He then takes up those three stories successively, and shows what became of them on examination. All possible witnesses had been warned to be present at the inquiry, and the man who could take Hunne's murderer by the sleeve could not be ascertained. The man that knew the man pointed him out; but the latter said he had not said quite so much as that, but he had a neighbour that told him he could do it. The neighbour was produced, but denied that he had said it either; it was another who told him. But even he had only said that he believed

Reports shown to be unfounded.

another person could do so—a gipsy woman who could tell wonderful things by looking in one's hand, and who, he was sure, could tell who killed Hunne just as easily as she could say who stole a horse. But she was on her way back to her own country. Then the official of the king's almoner, who had seen so many men that had hanged themselves, was called in. "But would God," says More, "that ye had seen his countenance! The man had of likelihood said somewhat too far, and was much amazed, and looked as though his eyen would have fallen out of his head into the Lords' laps." Being asked by what symptoms he knew a man that had hanged himself from a man that had been hanged by others, he was unable to explain. Still, of course, an expert might not be able to explain everything that was clear to himself; so the Council put other questions. How many cases had he dealt with of men that had hanged themselves? Would he say a hundred? No. Ninety? He considered, but did not think he had seen ninety. Well, twenty? No, not twenty. This he said at once, to the Council's amusement, without the hesitation he had just shown about ninety. They came down to fifteen, ten, five, and four, and he began to study again.

Then came they to three, and then for shame he was fain to say that he had seen as many and more too. But when he was asked when, whom, and in what place, necessity drew him at last unto the truth, whereby it appeared that he never had seen but one in all his life, and that was an Irish fellow called Crookshank, whom he had seen hanging in an old barn.

The third story turned out to be as unsubstantial as the other two.

The temporal man that had reported upon the mouth of a spiritual man was a good worshipful man, and for his truth and worship was in great credit. And surely the spiritual man was a man of great worship also and well known, both for cunning and virtuous. And therefore the Lords much marvelled, knowing them both for such as they were, that they should like to find either the one or the other, either make an untrue report or untruly deny the truth. And first the temporal man before the Lords, in the hearing of the spiritual person standing by, said, My Lords all, as help me God and halidome, Master Doctor here said unto me his own mouth that if Hunne had not sued the

præmunire he should never have been accused of heresy. How say you, Master Doctor? quod my Lords, was that true, or else why said you so? Surely, my Lords, quod he, I said not all thing so, but marry this I said indeed, that if Hunne had not been accused of heresy, he would never have sued the *præmunire*. So, my Lords, quod the other, I am glad ye find me a true man. Will ye command me any more service? Nay, by my truth, quod one of the Lords, not in this matter, by my will; ye may go when ye will. For I have espied, good man, so that the words be all one, it maketh no matter to you which way they stand; but all is one to you—a horse mill or a mill horse,—Drink ere ye go, or Go ere ye drink. Nay, my Lords, quod he, I will not drink, God yield you. And therewith he made courtesy and went his way, leaving some of the Lords laughing to see the good, plain, old honest man, how that, as contrary as the two tales were, yet when he heard them both again he marked no difference between them.

Chancellor Horsey vindicated.

After this amusing exposure More has yet to make answer to some further objections of the messenger, who thinks it a great presumption of guilt in Chancellor Horsey that after being indicted he did not stand a trial, "but was fain by friendship to get a pardon." This presumption will also occur forcibly to readers of Hall's *Chronicle*, where it is said that "by the means of the spiritualty and money, Dr. Horsey caused the king's attorney to confess on his arraignment him not to be guilty; and so he escaped and went to Exeter, and for very shame durst never come after to London." The truth, however, according to Sir Thomas, who is much more to be believed in this matter than Hall, is that Dr. Horsey never sued for pardon.

But after a long examination of the matter, as well the chancellor as the other, being indicted of the deed and arraigned upon the indictment in the king's bench, pleaded that they were not guilty. And thereupon the king's grace, being well and sufficiently informed of the truth, and of his blessed disposition not willing that there should in his name any false matter be maintained, gave in commandment to his attorney to confess their pleas to be true without any further trouble. Which thing, in so faithful a prince, is a clear declaration that the matter laid to the chancellor was untrue.

More, indeed, expresses his firm belief that the king, whose judgment was remarkably acute in sifting doubtful matters, would never have granted a pardon for such a heinous offence as that of which Dr. Horsey was charged if he had been really guilty. The result of the inquiry at Baynard's Castle seemed to More himself a complete exculpation of the accused; and it must be observed that what he reports of it shows clearly that Hall's account of the case (even apart from the inquest) was very much sophisticated. But it equally shows—what we know well enough from other sources—that the public mind was not completely quieted by the investigation. Even the judgments of the king's courts in those days were not always looked upon as embodiments of truth and justice; and the facts ascertained could not be put, as now, in black and white before a large reading public. Hall's account, which was first published some years after More's death, came to be looked upon as the general authority for the facts; and Foxe the Martyrologist, sneering at Sir Thomas More for "thinking to jest poor truth out of countenance" by a narrative in which he could not suppress the humorous aspect of the cross-examinations, boldly sets against his authority what he considers the overwhelming evidence of Hall and the discredited inquest. To prove the truth of Hunne's murder against More, Foxe, writing nearly fifty years after the event, declares that he requires no other evidences than "his cap found so straight standing upon his head, and the stool so tottering under his feet." And Burnet, of course, quite agreed with Foxe. And so does the modern reader generally; for while Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* has gone through numerous editions, and is still found in many a household, More's *Dialogue* is scarcely to be seen except in some public library, and many public libraries are without it.

Foxe will not believe More.

We are indebted to Foxe, however, for the text of a document which shows that Hunne had been cited for heresy before Convocation when sitting at St. Paul's, which must have been in the summer before he died; on which occasion he for the time evaded apprehension. It must have been after this that he sued the *præmunire*; which More believed that he did out of vainglory, hoping to initiate a *cause cèlèbre* to be called in after years "Hunne's case." But his appeal to the

civil tribunal turned out fruitless, and, anticipating disgrace and failure, he grew weary of his life. This, at least, is Sir Thomas More's theory of the matter, and if, even on his part, it was only a surmise, there is no one now better able to form a judgment. According to Foxe, Hunne was brought before the Bishop of London at Fulham on December 2nd (just before he was committed to the Lollard's Tower) and examined on six articles of heresy, which he himself denied having uttered in the precise form that they were charged against him, though he admitted with regret that he had said words like them, and submitted to the bishop's correction. After his death new articles were found against him, on the evidence of an English Bible which he possessed, of a prohibited version, with a very objectionable prologue and passages marked in his own hand. From the two sets of articles we may infer that his offences consisted, first in maintaining that tithes were not due by divine law but were only exacted by the covetousness of priests; secondly, in abusing bishops and priests, declaring them among other things to be the Scribes and Pharisees that crucified Christ; thirdly, in defending the heretical opinions of one Joan Baker who was obliged to abjure; and fourthly, in keeping prohibited books full of false doctrine and abuse of Church authorities. To this we may add that, according to More, some evidence came to light six or seven years after his death, showing that he had been in the habit of resorting to midnight meetings with other heretics, who read together in secret.

Heresies charged against Hunne.

Of course, in these days we cannot look upon either heresies or midnight readings as things which it is wise to repress; but the very liberty which we now enjoy makes it difficult for us to realise the fact that the mistaken policy of repression made these heresies all the more mischievous, and not a little dangerous besides. It is idle, moreover, to blame our ancestors for a policy which seemed to every one so obvious and necessary that the heretics themselves would have put it in force if they could have got authority on their side. A further step had now to be taken which is equally against modern feeling. The trial, which could not take place in Hunne's

His *post-mortem* execution.

life, was solemnly held after his death. On December 16th the Bishop of London, accompanied by the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, sat in judgment in St. Paul's, and twenty-five other divines attended, besides what Foxe contemptuously calls "a great rabble of other common anointed Catholics." Proclamation was made for any one who would defend Hunne's books and opinions to appear and they should be heard; and when no one came forward, sentence was pronounced against the dead man as a heretic, and his body was delivered to the secular power to be burned. It was accordingly taken to Smithfield and burned there on the 20th, "to the abomination of the people," as Hall declares; and no doubt it was to the great discouragement of heretics.

Before we quite dismiss this subject, there are still one or two points necessary to be mentioned, lest the studious reader should think that they have been overlooked. Foxe was not the first who attempted to answer More's *Dialogue* on this matter; for Tyndale, the translator of the New Testament, against whose work and teaching much of the *Dialogue* was directed, published about two years later an elaborate answer to the whole book. But I think it must be admitted that what he has to say on this subject is singularly ineffective, consisting simply of a few carping criticisms and the remark that More "jesteth out Hunne's death with his poetry wherewith he built Utopia." For Tyndale does not, like Foxe, refer to the discredited inquest as good evidence; it was evidently not safe to do so then. He only tries to minimise the result of the inquiry at Baynard's Castle because More did not give the names of the lords who met there, and presses the fact that Horsey received what he, like most people, called a pardon, without noticing More's statements, first, that it was quite unsolicited, secondly, that Horsey had actually faced a trial, and third, that the king's attorney stopped further proceedings, confessing his plea of "not guilty" to be true.

Tyndale on Hunne's case.

Tyndale, doubtless, had never seen the extraordinary document published some years after his death in Hall's *Chronicle* as a true report of the inquest. Foxe had seen it, and he takes its authority as all-sufficient, misrepresenting, at the same time, so far as he notices them, the arguments both of Sir

Thomas and of Alan Cope, who had exploded a few of the alleged cases of martyrdom contained in his celebrated *Acts and Monuments*. He actually dares to tell us that More "thinketh it probation enough" that "he could not see *him* taken by the sleeve who murdered Hunne," just as if More was one who would never have been satisfied with other evidence if better could have been produced; and he is scarcely more ingenuous with a remark of Cope, who says that even supposing, for the sake of argument, that Hunne was really murdered, the fact, no doubt, implicated Horsey in the gravest possible crime, but did not make Hunne a martyr, unless a man slain by robbers on the highway was a martyr likewise. He reasons upon this as if it were a positive admission, "comparing the bishop's chancellor and officers to thieves and murderers"; then resting on Cope's own assertion that Hunne was a heretic, insists that he died "for *their* heresy," which meant martyrdom for truth. In short, Foxe, taking it as admitted that Horsey murdered Hunne, considers Horsey's act as the act of "the Popish Church," and done for the suppression of heresy! Further, Foxe produces a piece of evidence on this matter which cannot easily be accepted as genuine—a letter from the king to Dr. Horsey declaring that he had pardoned him, though abhorring his crime, in order that he might make restitution of Hunne's goods to his son-in-law, Roger Whapplot of London, draper; that he had then hoped Dr. Horsey would amend and make compensation to the family "as well for his death as for his goods embezzled, wasted, and consumed by your tyranny and cruel act so committed"; but as this had not been done he enjoins Horsey to do it at once on pain of his displeasure. This royal letter, which is undated, is suspicious even for its extraordinary style; and it is so utterly opposed to what More tells us of the king's conviction of Horsey's innocence, that we certainly cannot accept it for what it pretends to be.

Alleged letter from the king.

It is true that in the early part of the year 1515, which was doubtless before the investigation at Baynard's Castle, the king actually signed a bill for the restitution of Hunne's goods to his children. There was something irregular about this; for apparently it was a bill that had passed through the

Commons and came up to the Lords on the 28th March. It was read a first time in the Lords on the 3rd April, and then their lordships seem to have agreed that, notwithstanding the premature signature, it should be, as the record says, "delivered" (*ut billa pro liberis Ricardi Hunne restituendis, licet Regia manu signata sit, deliberetur*), which probably means, delivered to the chancellor for execution as a mere grant from the Crown, for nothing more is heard of it in the Lords. Foxe is therefore justified in saying, as he does just before quoting the supposed royal letter to Dr. Horsey, that the king gave Hunne's goods to his children under his broad seal. But the letter to Dr. Horsey is at best a subsequent draft of a document for which the king's signature was desired. It could not possibly have received the sign-manual.

One thing, perhaps, may be conceded—that an imputation of murder, even though unjust, could not long have stuck to a man whose ordinary life and conversation were wholly above suspicion. Dr. Horsey was probably unpopular before the occurrence which brought down upon him so much obloquy. He had certainly fallen under displeasure six years before—in the days of Henry VII.—when he was committed to the Tower, we cannot tell for what. His sumner, moreover, seems quite to have merited the ill repute in which sumners were held in Chaucer's day, though his other alleged accomplice, the bellringer, was declared by the Bishop of London to be "a poor innocent man." The extorted confession of the sumner when he was in the Tower was probably the thing which served most to perpetuate a belief in Dr. Horsey's guilt.

AUTHORITIES.—Hall's *Chronicle;* More's *Dialogue* and *Supplication of Souls* (*Works*, pp. 235-240 and 297-299); Tyndale's *Answer to Sir Th. More's Dialogue; Alani Copi Dialogi Sex.* p. 847 (ed. 1566); Foxe's *Acts and Monuments; Journals of the House of Lords*, i. 38, 39, 41. (The name is erroneously printed in the Lords' Journals as Ralph Hume in some instances.) Although Hall's general accuracy is borne out by abundant documentary evidence, his dishonesty in some matters where he is biassed, as against the clergy, or against Cardinal Wolsey, can be equally well proved. See *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xiii. 97, 98. Of the character of Foxe's narrative we shall see further evidence as we go on.

CHAPTER IV

JURISDICTION OF CHURCH AND STATE

HAVING spoken of Hunne as a heretic, we are naturally reminded of two or three important subjects which require some little elucidation in a work like the present—that is to say, the nature of heresy itself, the extent to which it prevailed at this time, and the different forms which it took. But before we can properly enter on these subjects, it may be well to note that Hunne's case was almost immediately mixed up with another very important matter—the right of sanctuary; and in connection with this, the political status of the Church on the eve of the Reformation requires some little consideration in the first place.

We can hardly realise in these days the external deference paid to the Church at a time when its political position was unchallenged. To us the expression "Church and State" looks like a reversal of the true order of things; the State is, to every one, in practical matters, by far the more important of the two. But it was not, at least, the more august of the two in the age of which we are speaking, when the House of Lords would suspend its sittings on days when the presence of the lord chancellor and the bishops was required in Convocation. Parliament, indeed, was only national, while the Church was international; and well might the interests of a larger society take precedence of those of the nation. Yet this deference was somewhat hollow; for national interests were already asserting their supremacy, and the privileges of the Church

External deference shown to the Church.

were not always respected where practical considerations stood in the way.

Old immunity from secular jurisdiction.

In the Middle Ages the clergy were a sacred order by themselves, subject to their bishops and theoretically exempt from secular jurisdiction, though in cases of crime they were compelled to appear first in the King's Courts and plead their privilege. At one epoch, indeed, if a clerk had been apprehended even for murder he was at once claimed by his ordinary and delivered up to him without a trial, to be imprisoned till he could purge himself of the crime according to ecclesiastical law, and, if he failed to prove his innocence, to be degraded and handed over to the secular arm as a layman.[1] This system probably worked well and was attended with good results in days when the discipline of the Church was superior to that of the State. But centuries had passed away since then, and the system had got roughly modified in different directions. One of the earliest modifications insisted that the clergyman should be indicted before he claimed the privilege of his clergy, and under Henry VI. it became the practice of the courts to insist on his being actually convicted before being handed over to his bishop. Then the clergy were allowed to claim an extension of the privilege to such minor officers serving the Church as door-keepers, readers, exorcists, and sub-deacons. At last this "benefit of clergy," as it was called, was conceded to all who showed themselves competent to read. But in the fourth year of Henry VII. an Act was passed to check the abuses of the system, and men not actually in orders claiming clergy after a conviction of felony were branded on the thumb — with a letter M in cases of murder, or with a T in cases of theft—and disabled from claiming the privilege again.

Modified under Henry VII.

A further restriction had just been imposed, but only in a tentative way, in the fourth year of Henry VIII., when it was enacted that persons guilty of murder or robbery in churches, highways, or houses should be refused this benefit of clergy altogether unless they were actually in holy orders. This enactment was only to be in force till the next Parliament; but though it was said to have

Further restrictions attempted.

[1] See Vol. II. of this History, chap. ix.

produced satisfactory results, it was such a decided innovation and encroachment on old liberties that it gave rise to serious questionings. We shall perhaps not err greatly in surmising that it was the feeling created by these discussions that induced Hunne to sue his *præmunire*. But the question of the renewal of the Act came before Parliament again a year after Hunne's death, in the latter part of the year 1515. A bill with this object is mentioned in a list of agenda for the Lords on November 20th. It went to the Commons first, was passed by them, and was read a first time by the Lords on December 17th. It seems to have made no further progress, except that on the 20th it and five other bills agreed to by the Commons were read and deferred for further consideration. On the 22nd Parliament was dissolved, and no more was heard of it.

The Lords doubtless forbore to renew the temporary Act in consequence of the remonstrances of the spiritual peers, and the inveterate tendency of temporal to encroach on the domain of ecclesiastical law received a check for a time. This is a fact so very exceptional in its character that we are naturally driven to ask if there be any explanation of the circumstance, and it happens that a good deal of information has been preserved in a book of legal precedents which throws a very curious light on what was said upon this subject, not in Parliament but in the King's Council. This book, it should be said, though not published till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, contains the collections of a lawyer, by name Robert Keilwey, who had attained full maturity some time before the death of Henry VIII., so that the report, in this case, is almost that of a contemporary. Here is a brief outline of what it records.

The Abbot of Winchcombe's sermon.

During the time of Parliament, it is said, in the seventh year of Henry VIII.—but it looks as if the sixth year (1514) was intended, though the Parliament of the sixth year was continued by prorogation into the seventh—Richard Kidderminster, Abbot of Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he denounced very severely the expiring Act, declaring that it was positively against the law of God thus to violate the liberties of Holy Church, and that all who had been concerned

in passing it had incurred ecclesiastical censures, in proof of which he produced a book of a decretal. He certainly spoke the mind of the clergy generally, who, as we have just seen, ultimately gained their point. But the matter was so important that at the request of the temporal lords the king called a council of divines at Blackfriars to consider the question; and there Dr. Henry Standish, Warden of the Grey Friars of London, maintained that the Act was not against the liberty of the Church as it was for the weal of the whole realm. For this it is clear that he incurred great unpopularity among the clergy, and he was at once answered by another divine, who declared that the Act was opposed to a decretal which all Christians were bound to obey. But Standish reminded his opponent that there was another decretal by which all bishops were bound to be resident at their cathedrals at every feast, yet most of the English bishops disregarded it, and in like manner the decretal for the exemption of clerks from secular jurisdiction had never been recognised in England. The discussion went on, and, if truly represented in the report, the supporter of Church privileges made a very curious use of the text *Nolite tangere Christos meos* (Touch not mine anointed ones, Ps. cv. 15), which he quoted as the words of our Lord instead of David, till Standish corrected him. After the lords had heard both sides they desired some of the bishops to cause the abbot to make open renunciation of what he had said at Paul's Cross; but the bishops refused, declaring that they were bound by the law of the Church to maintain the abbot's opinion.

The matter was allowed to rest till Michaelmas term following, about the time of the final sittings of that Parliament, when Standish was summoned to appear before Convocation to make answer to certain articles, so as to elicit his express opinion whether it was lawful for a temporal judge to call clerks before him, whether first (*i.e.* the lower) orders in the Church were sacred, whether a papal constitution was binding on a country where the usage had been to the contrary, and whether a temporal prince could restrain bishops who refused to punish their clergy. Archbishop Warham delivered him a bill of conclusions and appointed him a day for reply. But apparently the articles which he was to answer were not

Standish called in question for heresy.

administered to him, and Standish, to avoid being questioned, appealed to the king. The clergy were then called to answer before the king for having forgotten what was due to their sovereign in calling Standish before them for the counsel he had thought right to give him. He appeals to the king. Their reply was that they had not cited him on that account, for he had given his counsel to the king long ago, but for certain public lectures that he had since delivered, containing matter held to be inconsistent with the teaching of the Church. The articles against him, though drawn up, had not been delivered, but in drawing them up they had never intended to do anything to the prejudice of the Crown. They, moreover, denied having discussed with him the lawfulness of conventing clerks before lay judges. This looks somewhat like a contradiction of the first article; but apparently the meaning of it simply was that they had neither actually discussed nor intended to discuss, from a practical point of view, a matter claimed as belonging to the prerogative of the Crown; "for if it were the thing that needeth any reformation, yet the said prelates well perceive that it could nother be holpen nor hurted by the said friar; and so they should have but lost their time in ministering any such article to him or matter unto him." At the same time they considered that any opinions they might have expressed among themselves in Convocation ought not to be treated as disloyal, any more than opinions expressed in Parliament that existing laws were unsatisfactory. They said they were bound on their oaths to investigate cases of heresy, and it was for that matter alone that they had summoned Standish before them.

It was in vain, however, to say that such a question was merely a scholastic one, of no practical or political significance. And no king ever realised more clearly than Henry VIII. the importance of a clear understanding of the principles alike of ecclesiastical and of civil jurisdiction. He was himself, indeed, no less of a theologian than a statesman; and in spite of all the frightful demoralisation of his after years he retained both characters to the very end. The clergy appealed to him to remember his coronation oath as concerning the privileges of the Church. The lay lords did

the same in desiring him to uphold his temporal jurisdiction. He called the dean of his chapel, Dr. Vesey or Voysey, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, and desired him on his allegiance to say whether the conventing of clerks before lay judges for criminal causes was against the law of God. Voysey replied that it had always been used in England, and might very well stand with the liberties of the Church. Then a council of lawyers, spiritual and temporal, was called at Blackfriars, where the articles against Standish were read, and he was called upon to reply to them. He denied some and explained others. Some curious arguments were urged, comparing the citation of a spiritual father to that of a temporal father. Standish boldly replied, that a temporal judge might without offence cite either the one or the other; but at all events he might very well cite any other clerk. And no commandment was absolute, for the Israelites slew and spoiled the Egyptians without offence. Dr. Voysey backed up this argument by showing that the canon law had varied in different times and countries; that formerly secular priests had wives till they were forbidden to marry by a decree in the time of St. Augustine; but that decree, though obeyed in England and other countries, was not received in the East, where priests had wives like laymen.

The conventing of clerks before lay judges.

In the end the judges decided that all the members of Convocation who had taken part in the proceedings against Dr. Standish were subject to a *præmunire*, and that the king could quite well, by his prerogative, hold a parliament consisting only of temporal lords and commons without summoning the spiritual lords at all, who sat there only by virtue of their temporal possessions. Then the judges and councillors, spiritual and temporal, came before the king at Baynard's Castle, where Wolsey, Archbishop of York and cardinal, knelt before the king to intercede for the clergy, who had no thought of doing anything in derogation of the royal prerogative. Wolsey declared that for his own part he owed his advancement solely to the king, and would never assent to anything tending to impair his authority; yet the conventing of clerks before lay judges did seem to be a matter that touched the liberties of the Church, which the clergy were

The king's decision.

all bound by oath to preserve. He therefore prayed the king that the matter might be referred to the pope and his councillors at Rome. The king on this made answer, "We think Dr. Standish has sufficiently replied to you in all points."

This might have been supposed conclusive, especially as no one seems to have expected any change to be made in long-established usage. But the clergy were upholders of an academic theory, and felt no more bound to admit that established usage was right, than to admit that sin was right because all men were sinners. The very best men among them objected to what seemed to be the king's final decision. "Sir," said Fox, Bishop of Winchester, "I warrant you Dr. Standish will not abide by his opinion at his peril." Standish replied (and the answer is a curious one, considering that, as one might suppose, he could well rely on the king for support), "What should one poor friar do alone against all the bishops and clergy of England?" Archbishop Warham said that in former days many holy fathers had resisted the law of the land on this point, and some had suffered martyrdom in the quarrel. But Chief Justice Fineux replied that the conventing of clerks had been practised by many holy kings, and many fathers of the Church had agreed to it. "Moreover," he said to the archbishop, "if a clerk is arrested by the secular authority for murder or felony, and the temporal judge commits him to you according to your desire, you have no authority by your law to try him." Hereupon the king said: "We are, by the sufferance of God, King of England, and the Kings of England in times past never had any superior but God. Know, therefore, that we will maintain the rights of the Crown in this matter like our progenitors; and as to your decrees, we are satisfied that you of the spiritualty act expressly against the words of several of them, as has been well shown you by some of our spiritual Council. You interpret your decrees at your pleasure; but as for me, I will never consent to your desire, any more than my progenitors have done."

The clergy object;

This was final as regards the king; for though Archbishop Warham still begged that the matter might be respited till

they had a decision on the subject from Rome, which they would procure at their own cost, the king made no reply. "Nevertheless," says the record, "by this motion they found means to keep Dr. Horsey out of the hands of the temporalty, and he remained in the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury under colour of a prisoner until the cry about Hunne was somewhat abated, and they had made his peace with the king about the said murder; and then he came privately into the king's bench, was arraigned, and pleaded 'not guilty.' The attorney-general, Erneley, admitted the plea, and Horsey was dismissed. And as to Dr. Standish, at the said last assembly at Baynard's Castle, the bishops promised the king that he should be dismissed from the court."

but are appeased.

So the affair, after all, ended in a kind of compromise. The clergy could not get practical recognition for their theory of the immunity of clerks from secular jurisdiction, and they promised to dismiss their action against Standish; but the king, in this case, kept Dr. Horsey out of the hands of the laity. Such is the report, it must be observed, of a secular lawyer, coloured, as we may well suppose, by popular and professional prejudice. To him Hunne's death was a murder, and perhaps he thought it so; at all events, the jury had found it to be so; and though the attorney-general had admitted the defendant's plea of "not guilty," the thing was rather more like a pardon than an acquittal. Dr. Horsey was the only material sufferer by this long controversy; for, innocent as we must suppose him to have been, he could not, being a clergyman, have the satisfaction of having his character cleared in court, and this actually in consequence of the privileges claimed for his order. In the eye of civil lawyers he was only a pardoned murderer, while he was really the victim of a conflict between civil and ecclesiastical authority. For the king, while he declined to say a word tending to the diminution of his prerogative, felt apparently that in this case ordinary secular tribunals could not be trusted to do what was right and just.

The case settled.

The light thrown by this particular case on the standing opposition between civil and spiritual jurisdiction is certainly

remarkable; for here we find, not, as we might expect, only a few indiscreet spirits among the clergy zealous to maintain ecclesiastical privileges which had never been practically admitted, and which would seemingly have been subversive of all good government, but men of high political ability like Bishop Fox and Archbishop Warham pleading hard for their recognition, and even Wolsey urging that the clergy were bound by oath to maintain those liberties against which the temporary Act was aimed. The wonder is that such opposite theories of law could have remained side by side with each other for ages without leading to serious friction. There can be no very dangerous dispute, however, between two persons, one of whom can always have his way, while the second can only offer advice. The Church had no coercive power except such as the State was pleased to allow her. The canon law could only set forth that which was supposed to be theoretically right; and if the state of the world, which was always evil, would not permit this abstract right to take full effect, why, then, the evils of the time must be endured, but that was no reason for relinquishing one point of theory. If the Church did not always declare what was best in faith, in morals, and in government, what was the use of the Church?

Now, here was one of the Church's own servants, seeking, or at least protected by, Court favour, deliberately (as it seemed) perverting the Church's teaching, and measuring that which was best by what was most unquestionably politic and convenient. This savoured of heresy, and it seemed only right, if possible, to call the offender to account. But, then, how was it possible? All very well if, free from all fear of consequences, experts in canon law could have been left to fight it out between them, and the vanquished party could have been forced to recant for fear of punishment. Then, indeed, Bishop Fox would have been justified in saying that Standish would not dare abide by his opinion. Then, too, Standish himself might very well say, "What should one poor friar do alone against all the bishops and clergy?" But all the bishops and clergy had laid their case before the king, and he, after giving it full consideration, was content to be guided by the opinion of Dr. Standish; so there was no executive in this case to compel the heretic to recant. The

king, taking a practical view of the matter, as any king was sure to do, agreed with the opinion declared to be heretical, so the prosecution of Standish must be forborne. None the less, the king had high respect for the scruples of the clergy, and paid all the accustomed deference to their old immunities.

Dr. Tayler's note.

We may thus understand how the situation was summed up by an official of that day, Dr. John Tayler, a doctor of canon law, who happened at the time to fill both the office of clerk of the Parliament and speaker of the Lower House of Convocation. At the bottom of his official account of the proceedings of each of these bodies he wrote a note to this effect:—"In this parliament and convocation most dangerous seditions arose between the clergy and the secular power about the ecclesiastical liberties, a certain Minorite Friar, by name Standish, being the instrument and the instigator of all evils."

Number of prosecutions for heresy.

And now it may be desirable to see what means we have of judging of the extent to which heresies with regard to doctrine prevailed throughout the country, and what the character of those heresies was. On this subject it is obvious to refer to Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which contains the result of a search made by the author in episcopal registers, especially those of Canterbury, London, and Lincoln, for cases of heresy brought before the bishops. And as Bishop Burnet also examined some of these registers for his *History of the Reformation*, his testimony may occasionally be compared with that of the earlier writer for greater fulness. But as regards our chief authority, Foxe, it is important to note the object with which he wrote. In treating of "the persecution in the diocese of London," he expressly tells us that his object was to stop the mouths of Roman Catholics who were continually asking at the time he wrote, "where this our Church and religion was within these fifty or sixty years." And it is to show the continuity of "the true Church of Christ" during that period that he begins with what one would take to be a complete list from the Register of Bishop Fitz-James of the heretics brought before him between the years 1510 and 1527. This really goes beyond the time of Bishop Fitz-James, who was succeeded in the See of London by Tunstall in 1522; but no matter. Under the

year 1510 we have eleven names; under 1511 we have twelve; under 1512 only one. Then after an interval of four years we find two in 1517, and six in 1518. Then occurs a period of rest till 1521, under which there are four names, the last that belong really to Fitz-James's episcopate. Then come one only in 1523, two in 1526, and one in 1527. Forty heretics altogether in seventeen years. If that were a complete record for the most populous diocese in England, it would not appear that the amount of overt heresy in the country was very considerable. And as not one of these forty appears to have been burned, we cannot cite this list, at all events, as evidence of extreme persecution.

But clearly the catalogue is not quite exhaustive, as it does not include those who were committed to the flames; and, moreover, it does not include the name of Richard Hunne, whose trial for heresy, as we have seen, only took place after he was dead. We may note besides, of course, Bishop Fitz-James's own words, that London was so full of men of heretical sympathies that his chancellor, Dr. Horsey, had no chance of a fair trial by any jury. This, indeed, points to a very unpleasant state of public feeling, and shows clearly enough that there was something wrong in the relations of Church and State, though no one, as yet, could see any remedy for the evil. But still, the overt cases of heresy were very few, and fewer still the cases of those who persevered to the end, or rather, let us say, of those who at last were compelled to face the fire; for of steadfast perseverance to the end at this period we see nothing. To complete the list of detected heretics under Bishop Fitz-James from the year 1510 (which, however, was not the beginning of his episcopate) we must first deduct from the above forty the four who were convented after 1522, then add one for the exceptional case of Hunne and two for two so-called "martyrs," Sweeting and Brewster, to be mentioned presently, who were burned in Smithfield in 1511. That makes thirty-nine in twelve years.

Foxe's list examined.

But it may be desirable first to give a specimen of an earlier case, also given by Foxe, which took place under the same episcopate. Elizabeth Sampson was convented before Bishop Fitz-James in London as early as 1508 for speaking disrespectfully of images

Elizabeth Sampson's case.

and pilgrimages. She declared, among other things, that "our Lady of Willesden was but a burnt-tailed elf, and a burnt-tailed stock; and if she might have holpen men and women who go to her on pilgrimage, she could not have suffered her tail to have been burnt; and what should folk worship our Lady of Willesden, or our Lady of Crome, for the one is but a burnt-tailed stock, and the other is but a puppet; and better it were for the people to give their alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of St. Saviour 'Sim Saviour with kit lips'; and that she said she could make as good bread as that which the priest occupied; and it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heaven and in earth at one time." These sentiments she was compelled to abjure before Dr. Horsey some years before that unhappy official got into trouble about Hunne.

Foxe's "true Church."

Let us now examine Foxe's list of the forty heretics convented in seventeen years, which we have just slightly amplified and reduced to thirty-nine in twelve years. These thirty-nine, it seems, represented Foxe's true Church of Christ; they were the spokesmen, of course, for others in what they believed or disbelieved. From what we have just said, we may well expect to find that a good many of the objectionable doctrines were such as are largely favoured now, and even declared consistent with true orthodoxy; so that we are quite disposed to sympathise with those who were prosecuted for entertaining them. But it must be remarked, in relation to Foxe's theory (that these men were of the true Church while their oppressors really belonged to anti-Christ), that at this time not a single member of that true Church remained constant in the profession of a true gospel! Every one of those thirty-nine abjured, and the two who were ultimately burned were put to death as relapsed heretics, after again renouncing their heresies and craving absolution from their excommunication before they suffered. What! penitent for having professed "the true gospel" at the last, when there was no escape! The true gospel ought surely to fortify a man under such circumstances if anything can do so; and if it cannot, what is gained by a false profession in face

No case of persistence in heresy.

of certain death? Foxe is evidently grieved to record a fact which after all makes the existence of his true Church in that age rather shadowy; but he refers the "certain knowledge" to God whether the bishop's register is really to be trusted in this matter; and if it be, he begs the reader to note the unmerciful character of "the Pope's Church," which insisted on the death of men who were penitent at the last.

In any case, the evidence is rather against the claim of these two sufferers to be enrolled in the catalogue of martyrs, since they did not testify by their deaths to the truth of their beliefs; and a good many other of Foxe's "martyrs," it may be observed, had as little claim as they. As to these two, we learn from Foxe himself something of their history and the articles of which they were accused. One of them was a carpenter of Colchester, who appears to be named rightly in one place as James Brewster, though in another his Christian name is given as John, and in another as Jacob. He had been abjured before Archbishop Warham in 1505, the See of London being at that time vacant, when he was enjoined to go through certain acts of penance at Colchester, and to wear the badge of a faggot on his upper garment all his life after. He had been detected even then resorting to his fellow-sufferer, William Sweeting, as one of a little company who met in the fields to hear him read "out of a certain book"; moreover, he himself possessed "a little book of scripture" (*i.e.* a book in manuscript) in English "of an old writing almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed." He had conversed with people unbecomingly about pilgrimages, offering to images, the worshipping of saints, and the sacrament of the altar. After doing his penance he wore the faggot on his left shoulder for nearly two years, when, having engaged himself as a field-labourer in the Earl of Oxford's service, it was taken off by the earl's controller. This itself was a breach of the injunctions laid upon him, but perhaps it enabled him to escape observation for a while, and what fresh offence he gave, if any, is not recorded.

Two men burned: 1. James Brewster.

The other, "William Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the lady Percy at Darlington in the County of Northampton" (? Durham), and afterwards went to

Boxted in Essex, where he was for seven years holy-water clerk; after which he was bailiff and farmer to Mrs. Margery Wood for thirteen years. She apparently lived at Boxted, for we are next told that he departed thence to St. Osyth in the same county, where he served the prior of St. Osyth's, George Laund, for over sixteen years, and by his conversation infected with heresy the prior himself, who was afterwards compelled to abjure. He accompanied the prior up to London, was committed to the Lollard's Tower, and being abjured at St. Paul's was ordered to bear a faggot, first at Paul's Cross and then at Colchester; after which, like Brewster, he was enjoined to wear the faggot badge all his life long. He accordingly wore it upon his left sleeve, but, like Brewster also, only for two years, when he engaged himself to "the parson of Colchester" as holy-water clerk, and took it off. He remained in this service two years, then travelled about and came to Rotherhithe, where he also served as holy-water clerk for the space of one year. After that he went to Chelsea, where he became neatherd "and kept the town beasts"; but there he was apprehended "on St. Anne's day in the morning," July 26th, 1511. From all this it would seem that he could not have been much under fifty when he was compelled to abjure, and that he was between fifty and sixty when he was burned. The things laid to his charge when he was first accused were his familiarity with Brewster (who had already been abjured) and other heretics, denial of transubstantiation, and objecting to pilgrimages and images, reproving his wife for desiring to go on pilgrimage and for worshipping images and setting candles before them.

2. William Sweeting.

The two men were now asked why they should not receive sentence as relapsed heretics; on which both of them submitted to the judgment of the Church and were released from excommunication. But they were no longer to be trusted, and must die the death. So they were burned together in Smithfield on October 18th.

It is sad enough, certainly, to think of men being treated as public enemies and disturbers of the peace because they uttered rather too freely things that were in the minds of many. But we must consider that a system of perfect freedom was

not as yet in the minds of any men at all. However free-thinking on various subjects might abound — and there was much of it, even in those days — authority must be invoked to defend from contempt and profanation doctrines and usages which the Church held sacred. That was clearly the general opinion, and it was quite the same when "the true gospel" of Foxe and his friends had triumphed by a revolution. The State must defend by penal laws the form of faith which she professed, even if it penalised the general belief of Christendom. But how much feebler was the plea for toleration when men lived under an old-established system never yet shaken or even seriously threatened with revolution? Free-thinking there might be, and no doubt always was; but who could define, even in his own mind, the limits of truth and falsehood? Just as in our reign of freedom many are perplexed with intellectual difficulties, but feel gradually as they go on that they cannot discard a few things without discarding more—that the irresistible claims of logic will lead them farther and farther on in the direction of pure agnosticism, and that this, when reached, or even a point a long way short of this, strikes their minds quite truly with the force of a *reductio ad absurdum* proving that there was some error at the outset,—so was it, doubtless, in the days gone by. The faith was in the keeping of the Church, and all the doctrines bound up with it had been debated by the most subtle minds in past ages. Even transubstantiation was not rashly to be impugned, though it was bound up with a certain physical philosophy which was difficult to realise then and has not maintained its credit in modern times. For a man who was no schoolman and no doctor of divinity to question, and teach others to despise, doctrines and usages which had met with the approval of great thinkers and the sanction of long-established usage was really a piece of arrogance. He was a wanton disturber of men's minds.

Toleration as yet impossible.

It will be observed that the year 1511, in which these two men suffered, was a year in which the prosecutions for heresy were more numerous than in any other year from 1510 to 1527. The burning of these two victims no doubt produced the desired effect; for the very next year the cases of heresy fell from

twelve to one, and during the next four years there seem to have been none at all in the diocese of London. As regards the forty in those years who were not burned, we are indebted to Foxe for some slight account of the charges against them, in which, as he himself confesses, he has deliberately suppressed some of the most odious. His confession on that head is so truly remarkable that it must be given here in his own words:—

Impiety along with heresy.

> And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several process[es], I mind therefore briefly only to touch so many of their articles as may be sufficient to induce the Christian reader to judge the sooner of the rest; being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow, except that sometimes they were charged, most slanderously, with horrible and blasphemous lies against the majesty and truth of God; which as they utterly denied, so do I now for this present keep secret in silence, as well for brevity's sake as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying generation.

This is surely a most extraordinary way of dealing with historical evidence. Foxe searched through the bishops' registers to show what a number of persons suffered—or were persecuted even when they were not burned—for the truth of the gospel, or for opinions which he so regarded. But if the same evidences declared that they were prosecuted in some cases for "horrible and blasphemous lies against the majesty and truth of God," then, of course, the accusations were false and slanderous. For proof of this it is sufficient that the accused denied the charges; and Foxe therefore judiciously keeps silence about them "as well for brevity's sake as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying generation"! So, of course, we must content ourselves with the charges Foxe himself either credits or can explain by the answers of the accused.

Character of the accusations of heresy.

The first on the list, Joan Baker, is charged not only with refusing to reverence the crucifix, but with persuading a friend of hers lying at the point of death not to put any trust in it, or in images of any kind; that she was sorry she had gone so often on pilgrimage "to St. Saviour and other idols"; that she maintained that the pope

had no power to give pardons, and that Lady Young, a person of whom nothing more is known than that she had been burned not long before, died a true martyr of God. Apparently Joan Baker was a fanatical Lollard, who adopted the Lollard fashion of calling images idols, and could not leave a dying person alone without ill-judged exhortations on her part. The second, William Pottier, was charged with asserting that there were six gods, with some very irreverent explanations; but he declared his language had been misreported. Others denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament; others had spoken against pilgrimages and the worship of images, against keeping any holy day but the Sabbath, against transubstantiation, and in contempt of the pope's pardons. One had pronounced St. Paul's church to be a house of thieves because the clergy were not liberal to the poor; another had said the Church was too rich; another had received heretics in his house and heard them read erroneous books. But all in this list repudiated the sentiments attributed to them and were dismissed, no doubt with warnings for the future.

These heresies are really on the whole much the same as those for which people were called in question in other dioceses. An examination of all the cases recorded by Foxe for the period immediately preceding the Reformation shows charges of the same character everywhere. There are, indeed, a few other varieties. Some men were charged with eating flesh in Lent; some with speaking against purgatory and prayers for the dead; some with possessing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English. Others were charged with possessing the book called *Wycliffe's Wicket* and commending Wycliffe's opinions; afterwards men begin to be charged with favouring Luther's doctrines. Now and then, mixed up with doctrine, there was some irreverence towards the Virgin. But one thing to be noted is that really very little is said about the pope, and what little even the heretics uttered did not greatly affect his authority. One would dispute his power to give pardons or indulgences; another would maintain that the power given by our Lord to St. Peter did not pass to his successors. But this, which is the nearest thing we find to the modern Protestant position, was very far indeed from a repudiation of the actual jurisdiction of the Church, and

of its existing Head. It was needless speaking against a jurisdiction so firmly established. Only royal power could possibly shake that, and the idea of royal power being so exerted was the last that would occur to any one at that time.

AUTHORITIES.—On the relations between Church and State, Maitland's *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* will be found very valuable. Lathbury's *History of Convocation* may also be consulted. The statutes referred to bearing upon rights of sanctuary are 4 Hen. VII. c. 13 and 4 Hen. VIII. c. 2. For the Abbot of Winchcombe's sermon and what followed see Keilwey's *Reports*, ff. 181 *sq.*, and *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i. p. 57. For the heresy cases see Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*.

CHAPTER V

WOLSEY, CARDINAL AND LEGATE—HENRY, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH

FROM what we have just seen it may be judged that, though there was a good deal of heretical feeling throughout the country, comparatively few men were guilty of overt heresy, and even these were rarely, if ever, constant to the death. There is no appearance, indeed, that they were the more enlightened part of the nation. Few among them appear to have been men either of social position, of judgment, or of education. The Lollard philosophy tended to bring all learning into disrepute except the study of the Scriptures and the reading of Wycliffe's books. It is probably only an ideal champion of this school whom More describes in his *Dialogue* as charged with the education of two sons of the friend to whom that book is addressed. More inquired of this teacher to what faculty he had given most study, and found that he had given most diligence to the Latin tongue. Other studies he cared little about; "for he told me merrily," says More, "that Logic he reckoned but babbling, Music to serve for singers, Arithmetic meet for merchants, Astronomy good for no man. And as for Philosophy, the most vanity of all; and it and Logic had lost all divinity with the subtleties of their questions and babbling of their disputations, building all upon reason, which rather giveth blindness than any light; for man, he said, had no light but of Holy Scripture."

Heretics not generally enlightened men.

These words convey the essence of the Lollard philosophy still smouldering among the people. The Lollards were not

rationalists, for they distrusted reason. They believed in the Bible as the great fountain of all necessary truth, and would not allow that its interpretation belonged to the Church and a specially educated clergy. They considered, on the contrary, that its true interpretation was revealed to all humble-minded Christians—"known men," as the phrase was in the fifteenth century, meaning men known to God as His own. But their tendency to despise traditions and ordinances not distinctly authorised by Holy Writ gave strong encouragement to acts of positive irreverence; and the danger with which their destructive doctrines menaced not only the faith but the social order of the nation was generally recognised. The penalty of the stake did not seem too severe for such wilful disturbers, and it was only wilful and obstinate heretics that were thus dealt with. For heresy was not mere opinion; every one regarded it as a crime. Nay, the heretics themselves took this view, and always sought to prove that they were not guilty of heresy.

Lollard views.

In England, and probably in most countries, before the days of Luther, men of education were generally on the side of authority. There is only one conspicuous instance of a man of highly cultivated mind being charged with heretical tendencies; and the charge in his case was, perhaps, plausible. Yet Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, was not a heretic—so far from it, that his name occurs in one of Foxe's lists of "persecutors," that is to say, of men who examined heretics. Neither could it be said that the founder of St. Paul's School in London was a despiser of learning. Heretics, however, took such pleasure in his preaching that they came up from the country to hear him, and he really did depreciate—at least as a means of understanding Scripture—not only the study of pagan authors but also that of scholastic divines. He was himself well read both in the schoolmen and in the classics; he had studied both these and the fathers also in France and Italy before he took orders. But he startled Erasmus, at first, by abusing St. Thomas Aquinas, whom he accused of arrogance for attempting to make all things definite and for profaning the Gospel with mere human philosophy. Like the Lollards, he read the Scriptures by his own inner light, and his inner light, sometimes,

Dean Colet's preaching.

was rather mystical. But there is no doubt the novelty of his preaching had a most stirring effect. The bishops were suspicious of him, and he did not like the bishops. His own bishop, Fitz-James of London, who spoke so strongly in Hunne's case about the prevalence of heretical feeling in the city, had a sort of feud with the dean of his own cathedral, and actually denounced the new foundation of St. Paul's School as useless, if not mischievous. Bishop Fitz-James, no doubt, was a very honest man, but was not prepared for a revolution in matters of education. Colet, on the other hand, was somewhat reckless in the way he attacked old prejudices and superstitions; for it seems quite clear that he was the *Gratianus Pullus* who journeyed with Erasmus to Canterbury, confounded the vergers with inconvenient questions, and disgusted the prior and other keepers of relics with his evident disdain for filthy rags and venerable old shoes. His very preaching seems to have laid him open to a charge of heresy, and Bishop Fitz-James cited him before Archbishop Warham for something he had said against images and against written sermons—a mode of preaching that the aged bishop himself was obliged to have recourse to. Warham dismissed the charge; but the bishop afterwards, along with others, tried to stir up the court against him for discouraging the war with France. Colet, indeed, preached before the king on Good Friday, 1513, a sermon which Henry himself thought a little ambiguous, fearing that it might discourage the soldiers. But he called Colet afterwards to a private interview, in which he familiarly discussed the matter with him, desiring him only to explain himself afterwards, lest people should think he maintained that no war was justifiable to a Christian. Finally he dismissed him publicly with great honour, saying, "Let every man have his own doctor; this man is mine."

Colet died in 1519. It was in 1511—that critical year in which heresy had reached for the time its highest degree of activity—that Warham had appointed him one of the judges to try heretics in the diocese of Canterbury. And next year the archbishop further appointed him to preach the opening sermon to a Convocation specially summoned to take measures against the further spread of their mischievous opinions. He did so, and the

His sermon to Convocation.

sermon which he preached on that occasion was a memorable one. He took his text from Romans xii. 2, and the first part of his discourse, on not being conformed to this world, was directed against the abuse of clergymen being led away from the duties of their sacred vocation by ambition, covetousness, amusements such as hunting and hawking, or secular occupations suitable for the laity. But the "reforming" which was to counteract the "conforming" was a matter for which he appealed to the bishops. He had no new legislation to suggest; there were laws enough already; only the spirit to carry them out was wanted. To purify the clergy themselves from worldly and secular objects was the one thing in his view that the Church most required. If men had only a devout and self-sacrificing clergy, that great wave of heresy might be trusted to subside.

Temporary subsidence of heresy.

It did subside, as we have seen, for a while; but, it is to be feared, not so much in consequence of any great effort made at that time to purify the Church, as owing to the example of the two relapsed heretics burned in Smithfield. Their fate excited so little compassion that it is clear they had not many admirers. Just after they were burned Ammonius jestingly tells Erasmus that it was no wonder wood for fuel was dear, so much of it was required to make holocausts of heretics. The jest would have been a very bad one, but that the exaggeration was so intense; and this only emphasises the fact that the victims were but a solitary pair, and that it was rare to have so many. But an evil checked in such a fashion is certainly not eradicated. The laity were deterred from open outbreaks of heresy, and scholars were very well satisfied with the laws and teaching of the Church; but laymen, doubtless, would still have their own thoughts and cogitations. And what prospect was there of a purification of the clergy such as Colet desired? He looked to their rulers to do the work, and the rule of the Church was about to be committed to the greatest master of statecraft.

It was almost exactly a year after Wolsey's promotion to York that he was made a cardinal. The dignity was conceded to him only through the exertion of strong influence in his behalf by his sovereign, who had been anxious to procure it for

him even when he was Bishop of Lincoln. Both the king and Wolsey himself had expressed themselves most anxious to promote the interests of the Holy See. "The king," Wolsey wrote to De' Gigli, "will be ready to expose his person and goods to support the honour and dignity of the Holy See." Henry, in fact, promised the pope to send relief to the Christians of Dalmatia and the city of Jaicze, then besieged by the Turks, for which object the pope urgently desired of the English clergy a tenth, or at least a twentieth. The latter amount Henry agreed that he should have, and the pope was so delighted with his liberality that De' Gigli wrote he meant to insist on Wolsey's promotion in spite of the opposition of all the cardinals. Wolsey was accordingly created "cardinal sole," not one of a batch, as cardinals generally were created, and his title was given him afterwards from the church of St. Cecilia *trans Tiberim.*

How Wolsey was made cardinal.

The hat was despatched to England with little delay, in order that Wolsey might wear it in the coming Parliament; and the messenger entrusted with it, Bonifacio Collis, who was De' Gigli's secretary, as well as *scutifer* to the pope, was met at the seaside and Blackheath much in the same way as Leonardo de' Spinelli had been when he brought the cap and sword for the king. He entered London on November 15th, and rode through the city with the Bishop of Lincoln on one side of him and the Earl of Essex on the other, the mayor, aldermen, and city companies lining the streets. At Westminster the abbot, with eight other abbots, received the hat and conveyed it to the high altar. On Sunday the 18th the cardinal came to the abbey to receive it, surrounded by a crowd of bishops. High mass was sung by Archbishop Warham, to whom Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was "crosier," and Dr. Colet preached a sermon exhorting the new cardinal to execute righteousness to poor and rich, and desiring all people to pray for him. The bull was then read, and the cardinal knelt before the altar, where he "lay grovelling" during benedictions and prayers. Then came a *Te Deum;* and after all was over, the newly created cardinal proceeded to his palace near Charing Cross, preceded by his cross and mace, and in front of them by the Archbishop of Canterbury, now without a cross borne before him, and the Bishop of Winchester, while

the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the rest of the nobility, led the way. A sumptuous feast at York Place, graced by the presence of the king and queen and the widowed "French queen" (Mary, now Duchess of Suffolk), formed the conclusion of these grand proceedings.

Convocation refuses an aid against the Turks.

But now the aid against the Turks was not felt to be so very urgent. In fact, it was refused by the Convocation of Canterbury. The archbishop, of course, as bound in duty, exhibited the pope's brief, and a letter from De' Gigli on the subject addressed to himself. But the clergy reminded his Holiness in reply of the great efforts they had made for such objects in the time of Julius II., and they considered that King Henry's victories over the French had now removed all danger from the Holy See. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the pope's request could only have been laid before Convocation by consent of the king; and that John Tayler, who was both prolocutor in Convocation and at the same time clerk of the Parliaments, in stating to the bishops the reasons for non-compliance, spoke of it as more directly a grant to the Crown than to the pope. The Convocation, he said, had been called for other purposes, and more tenths had been paid by the clergy in one sitting than to any other king in their days. He hoped Henry VIII. would be led by the example of his father, who remitted the tenths when the cause for granting them had ceased. For the clergy to grant the pope's demand now would be a most dangerous precedent, and they were determined not to open a door which hereafter they might be unable to shut. Such was the reply; and it does not appear that Henry's zeal for the Holy See prompted him in the least to resent it. A refusal of an aid which was meant for his own purposes would have been a different matter.

Cardinal Adrian and Polydore Vergil.

The new turn taken by Henry's policy when he allied himself with France in 1514 may have had something to do with the displeasure which he then took with Cardinal Adrian de Corneto, the collector of Peter's pence in England, and with his sub-collector, Polydore Vergil. Henry insisted on Cardinal Adrian resigning the office, which he desired to bestow on his own Latin secretary, Andreas Ammonius, the witty and scholarly friend of Erasmus.

The cardinal, however, at first affected to disbelieve in the genuineness of the king's letters, and declared that the pope's briefs in answer to them were surreptitiously obtained. He got the whole college of cardinals to write in favour of himself and Polydore Vergil to the king; but as this produced no effect, the pope endeavoured to effect a compromise by appointing Ammonius sub-collector instead of Polydore, and reserving to Cardinal Adrian a pension of 1400 ducats. Even this, however, was not accepted in England as a settlement; it was not the mere deputy-collectorship that was wanted for Ammonius. Meanwhile Polydore Vergil's letters to Cardinal Adrian were intercepted, and were found, as might have been expected, to contain some very bitter observations. He had written that the king was but a boy ruled by others, and signed papers without knowing their contents. He had spoken of De' Gigli, Ammonius, and Wolsey by nicknames, and abused the last as a tyrant hated by everybody, though he had offered him a yearly pension of £100 for his favour, and he recommended Adrian to pension one or two of the pope's officials to settle the matter. This, it should be mentioned, was some months before Wolsey was made cardinal. When the letters were read, Polydore was at once committed to the Tower, and there he still languished when Wolsey's hat was brought to England, and his brand-new honours were the talk of all the world. Neither Polydore nor his master Adrian had anticipated this; and while Adrian got friends to write for him to Wolsey to clear him of a suspicion that he had opposed his promotion, Polydore wrote an abject letter to the new cardinal from his dungeon in the Tower. While lying, as he said, in the shadow of death, he had heard of Wolsey's elevation. When he was permitted he would be glad to bow in adoration before him; and then, the letter goes on to say, "my spirit will rejoice in thee, my God and Saviour." To make the fulsome blasphemy complete, the letter was addressed: "Reverendissimo domino, Deo meo, domino Cardinali Eboracensi dignissimo."

Wolsey's promotion in the Church was very soon followed by promotion in the State as well. On December 22 Archbishop Warham resigned the great seal, and the king delivered it to Wolsey, who took his oath of office as lord

chancellor at Eltham on Christmas Eve. Wolsey was now pre-eminent as the first subject in the land, and he seemed at this time to be the king's sole adviser. The Venetian ambassador wrote that the king was bent on aggrandising him to the utmost, and that the whole authority of the State really rested with him. So indeed it appeared to do for many years afterwards, but historians have been too prone to believe that the policy which he was forced to carry out invariably originated with himself. The king's ears were always open to other counsels; and though he was well aware that Wolsey was his most sagacious adviser and most practical man of business, it was he himself who in all cases decided on the line of action to be followed, while Wolsey devised means of accomplishing the intended objects.

Wolsey made lord chancellor.

Warham's retirement from the chancellorship was perfectly voluntary; in fact, he had been seeking to resign the office for years past. A most conscientious man, he always sought to do his duty in whatever post he might be appointed to fill; but he did not love his responsibilities. Jealous of the rights of his See, he had two or three years before had a rather unpleasant controversy with his suffragans, who complained of their jurisdiction being infringed by the prerogative of Canterbury. His leading opponent in this dispute was the venerable Fox, Bishop of Winchester; but the matter was an intricate one, and after being referred to Rome it was, by consent of the parties, submitted to the king, who arranged a compromise.

Shortly after this, not only Warham, but Fox also, retired altogether from political life. Polydore Vergil, who, of course, in his history colours the matter in his own fashion, says that Fox's steadfast patronage of Wolsey (whose true character, he thinks it only reasonable to believe, was unknown to his patron!) made him so unpopular with good men that, though an excellent man himself, he gradually withdrew from public affairs. But in another passage the same writer says that both Fox and Warham, finding all power in the hands of a single man, withdrew to their dioceses after earnestly warning the king not to let a servant become greater than his master. Henry was certainly not the sovereign to require such a hint, and neither Warham nor Fox, we

Retirement of Warham and Fox.

may be sure, proffered any such needless advice to him. The true state of matters, although mixed with some surmise even here, may be learned from a contemporary despatch of the Venetian ambassador Giustinian, written in London on July 17, 1516. "For many days and months past," says Giustinian, "the Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who were principal members of this government, have withdrawn themselves, on account, it is said, of the succour given to the emperor against the King of France and your Excellency" (*i.e.* the Venetian State, which was now allied with France). "Canterbury was lord chancellor, and Winchester held the privy seal, both which offices are of extreme importance and have been resigned by them. The office of lord chancellor has been conferred on the right reverend cardinal, and the privy seal on the right reverend Bishop of Durham. The illustrious the Duke of Suffolk, who married the queen-widow of France, has also absented himself; it is said, he is not in so much favour with this king as heretofore. Another likewise, by name Sir Thomas Lovell, who was an old servant to the late king, and also to his present Majesty, and exercised extreme authority, seems moreover to have withdrawn himself, and interferes but little in the government. So that the whole direction of affairs rests (to the dissatisfaction of everybody) with the right reverend the cardinal, the Bishop of Durham, and the illustrious the lord treasurer."

The fact was, the old councillors of Henry VII. were glad now to give place to a younger and more active man. The only new one among those mentioned as having retired from court was Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, lately Wolsey's fellow-courtier, whom the vehemence of his love for "the French queen," Mary, had lately caused to spoil a delicate diplomatic mission, so that no wonder he was under a cloud. As for Fox, it was simply that advancing years had made him less fit for the arduous duties of lord privy seal, and that he was extremely anxious to devote his remaining energies to the too long neglected concerns of his diocese. Wolsey's efforts and entreaties were not wanting to bring him back to court again, and if he could have persuaded himself to come it would have been for Wolsey's sake

Fox's reasons.

to lighten somewhat the burden of those "intolerable labours" which he understood better than the world at large. So he expressly says in a letter to Wolsey himself. But he was glad to see affairs were in such very capable hands, and that business was despatched with "better, straighter, and speedier ways of justice" than had been seen in times past. This was a remarkable tribute to Wolsey's merit from the most competent of all possible judges. As for himself, however, Fox goes on to say in the same letter that he believes Wolsey would not have him serve the world to the damnation of his own soul and of other souls committed to him. His absence was not in order to hunt or to hawk, but for quietness of his own mind, which was troubled with other men's iniquities more than he durst write.

Bishop Ruthall, lord privy seal.

The Bishop of Durham, who has just been mentioned as being promoted to Fox's place of lord privy seal, was by name Thomas Ruthall. Hitherto he had only been secretary to the king, and there is not much to be said of him except that he was a very industrious secretary, while at the same time he was, like other bishops of Durham, peculiarly responsible for the defence of the Borders against the Scots. In 1513, when the king invaded France, he did not accompany him thither like other bishops, though a letter placed in a wrong year among the State papers has led to the supposition that he did. He remained in England, and must have felt comparatively at ease when the captain of his castle of Norham reported to the Earl of Surrey that there was no fear but that the castle could stand a siege till the king came out of France to relieve it. The boast, however, was not justified. A week or two before the battle of Flodden, the King of Scots came over the Borders with an overpowering army, battered Norham Castle and razed it to the ground. Even after the subsequent defeat of the Scots, Ruthall bitterly lamented the destruction of his castle; but he was content to bear the expense as the injury had been so fully requited. He wrote to Wolsey with pride of the way in which the men of the bishopric had distinguished themselves in the field, fighting under St. Cuthbert's banner. Everybody, he said, believed that the victory was due to St. Cuthbert's intercession, who never allowed injury done to his church to pass without signal punishment.

In 1517 occurred in London the riot of Evil May-day. For some time the citizens had been grumbling more than their wont at the prosperity of foreign tradesmen settled among them, who were too much patronised by the court, and held their heads too high. The grievance was considered so serious and so indisputable that a broker named John Lincoln, shortly before Easter, wrote a "bill" desiring Dr. Standish, who was to preach the sermon at St. Mary, Spital, on Easter Monday, to refer to it in his discourse and appeal to the mayor and aldermen "to take part with the comminalty against the strangers." Standish very properly replied that it did not become him to urge such a thing in his sermon. But the broker carried his complaint to one of the canons of the hospital, named Dr. Bele, who was to preach on the Tuesday, declaring that English artificers could hardly find work to support their wives and children, as the foreigners took away all their living. Dr. Bele promised to consider the subject and read part of the "bill" aloud before his sermon. His text was *Cælum cæli Domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum;* on which he maintained that the land of England was given to Englishmen, who ought to defend their rights as birds would defend their nests. The "Spital" in which Dr. Bele thus preached was in those days really situated in the midst of fields called Spitalfields; but the citizens of London, with the lord mayor and magistrates at their head, were in the habit of repairing thither to hear sermons by famous preachers during the Easter holidays. And the effect of this sermon of Dr. Bele's preached before such an audience may easily be imagined. Attacks were made on foreigners in the streets even on April 28, and the mayor committed the rioters to various city prisons. But on the 30th the apprentices rose in the night and sacked the houses, first of French and Flemish artificers, then of the Florentine, Lucchese, and Genoese merchants, and ultimately even of foreign ambassadors. The results altogether would have been much more serious but for the precautions taken by Wolsey, who indeed was obliged to fortify his own house at Westminster, while he caused leading noblemen to bring up forces by several roads to beset the gates of the city, some of which they forced the night

Evil May-day.

before. About seventy rioters were captured and twelve were condemned to death. Then further prisoners were taken, to the number of four hundred men and eleven women, who were brought before the king in Westminster Hall on the 22nd, bound in ropes together and with halters about their necks. But at the intercession of Wolsey and the lords the king pardoned them and they flung away their halters.

That same month of May a strange thing happened at Rome. On the 19th Cardinals Sauli and Petrucci were committed to the castle of St. Angelo for conspiring to poison Pope Leo X. When the case was further inquired into, others were implicated, among whom was Cardinal Adrian de Castello. The precise nature of his complicity is uncertain, but apparently he had a guilty knowledge of the conspiracy. At all events he and Cardinal Volaterra were obliged to confess their guilt, and to throw themselves at the pope's feet imploring forgiveness. The pope pardoned them their lives, and even reduced the fine imposed by the Consistory for their offence; and none but Petrucci suffered capitally, even Sauli being only deprived and afterwards reinstated. The pope, afraid of making too many enemies, hesitated to deprive Cardinal Adrian, though his reputation was so tarnished by the disclosures that he escaped in disguise to Venice, and what became of him further is unknown. It is only certain that the Venetians were his friends and endeavoured to mediate for his restoration; and with the pope their efforts might have been successful, but both the king and Wolsey had a very bad opinion of him. So, when the Venetian ambassador in England, knowing that Henry had already given Adrian's bishopric of Bath to his favourite minister, endeavoured to present a letter from Adrian to the king in the cardinal's absence, he met with a severe rebuff. Henry took the temporalities of the bishopric into his hands, but the pope hesitated to deprive Adrian for a whole year, until circumstances arose which forbade him to delay any longer.

Conspiracy against Leo X. at Rome.

Flight of Cardinal Adrian.

A crusade against the Turks had already been sanctioned by the Council of the Lateran on March 16, and a bull was published to give effect to it. The Emperor Maximilian

had written to Rome offering to lead the expedition in person—an excellent joke, at which Henry VIII. laughed heartily, as it was only a characteristic device to get hold of other people's money. But there was hypocrisy even in the proposal of a crusade at all. "The Court of Rome," wrote Erasmus to Colet, "is shameless. What can be more gross than these continued indulgences? And now a war against the Turk is made the pretext, when the real purpose is to drive the Spaniards from Naples; for Lorenzo, the pope's nephew, who has married the daughter of the King of Navarre, lays claim to Campagna." To More Erasmus wrote of it in a lighter, sarcastic vein, as a thing that no one believed in. "The pope," he said, "has put out a prohibition against wives giving themselves up to pleasure at home in the absence of their husbands in the war; they are to abstain from finery and not to wear silk, gold or jewels, to use no paint, to drink no wine, and to fast every other day. But as for your wife," he writes to More, "she is so serious and devout, she will gladly comply with these injunctions."

The pretence of a crusade.

The world, however, was externally at peace, and the pope, in the spring of 1518, was sending legates to different countries to arrange for the grand joint enterprise. The legate intended for England was Cardinal Campeggio; but before he set out De' Gigli was instructed to inform the pope that it was not usual to admit any foreign cardinal to exercise legatine authority in England. The king, however, was content to waive this objection, provided the faculties which were conceded to legates *de jure* were suspended and Wolsey was joined in equal authority with Campeggio. This the pope felt it necessary to concede, and Campeggio arrived at Calais in June. But Cardinal Adrian was not yet deprived of his bishopric of Bath, and Campeggio found he could go no further till this was done, for the king was very much displeased at the pope's delay. The sentence against Adrian was accordingly pronounced at Rome on July 5, and when the news reached England a Knight of the Garter was despatched to bring Campeggio over. He was received on landing at Deal by Sherborne, Bishop of Chichester, two noblemen, and a number of the Kentish gentry, and he made a splendid entry into London. Between

Wolsey and Campeggio legates.

Blackheath and the city a tent of cloth-of-gold had been raised for his reception, under, or perhaps in front of which Bishop Ruthall welcomed him to England in a set oration. In the tent the legate put on his pontificals, and was conducted to London by a cavalcade of 4000 horse. From St. George's Church to London Bridge the way was lined on both sides by friars, monks, and clergy, with capes of cloth-of-gold, and with sixty gold and silver crosses among them, singing hymns "with a harmony almost divine," as Wolsey reported to De' Gigli; and as the legate passed they censed him and sprinkled him with holy water. The procession extended two miles as he entered the city amid salvoes of artillery. At St. Paul's he was received by bishops with their mitres on, and entered the church under a canopy. After offering at the cathedral and giving his benediction to the people, he again took his mule to Bath Place, the house belonging to Cardinal Adrian's bishopric, where he was received by its new owner, his brother-legate Wolsey.

That day was Campeggio's own, for Wolsey had not appeared in it in public. The Venetian ambassador thought that he and the king were absent for fear of infection. In planning the day's arrangements beforehand Wolsey may have felt it prudent to spare himself, as he had recently been in ill health; but a diplomatic reason, too, may have had something to do with it. A joint audience of the king was arranged for August 3 at Greenwich, and in this Wolsey took precedence of his brother-legate, occupying the larger of the two gilt chairs set apart for them, which was placed nearer the throne than the other. It was he, too, who explained to the king in a Latin oration the cause of the mission of both; and after his Majesty had replied to this, a brother of Campeggio's stepped forward by permission of the king and made a further speech on the same subject, to which a reply was made in the king's name by one of Wolsey's attendants. The orator expressed the king's gratitude to the pope for sending such a mission, though it was not necessary, he said, to stir his Majesty up, either to make terms with all Christian powers or to undertake the expedition against the Turks, towards which he was himself very well inclined. Should the need arise, the speaker

Their audience.

said, his Majesty would marshal his forces and would in no wise fail in the duty of a Christian king. The Venetian ambassador was rather surprised that he spoke in such explicit terms.

A still more magnificent reception was given to the two legates at court on the following Sunday, the 8th. But, as the Venetian ambassador remarked, "no business was transacted on that day, and they merely performed high mass, and gave a grand banquet to the said legates and all present, the pomp being greater and the court more sumptuous than I have yet seen it. I will not write how far the decorum of the Apostolic Chair was preserved on this occasion, as it would be a long story and unnecessary, reserving this for my Report; and for the present, it may suffice for me to say that less respect for the Holy Chair could hardly have been shown." The whole thing was empty—respect for the Holy See and zeal for a crusade as well. These were but pretexts and forms of expression under which secular princes were accustomed to work out their own designs. The Holy See was but a piece of mechanism which could be got to move in the interests of powerful princes, investing with a religious sanction, or covering with a religious pretext, schemes and negotiations of which the more special aims were not to be disclosed prematurely.

Hollowness of the affair.

Thus it was on the present occasion. During the year 1517 England and France, though at peace, were supposed to be anything but cordial. But France wanted to recover Tournay, and after much secret negotiation it was suggested that an agreement might be come to on that subject in connection with a general European peace and a league against the Turks. So the pope's project of a crusade assisted the gradual development of new relations between France and England; and just before Campeggio reached England in July 1518 a secret treaty had been signed, not only for the surrender of Tournay to France, but for the marriage of the infant Dauphin, born that very year, to the Princess Mary, then two years and five months old. These arrangements, however, depended on the conclusion of a general treaty for a universal peace in which England and France were to take the lead, and both the

Secret negotiations with France.

secret and the general treaty continued to be the subjects of negotiation for some time after Campeggio's arrival. Both were finally arranged, and on October 2nd the general peace was signed. Next day in St. Paul's the articles of the treaty were read and sworn to by the king and the members of the French embassy; after which the king went to dine with the Bishop of London, and in the evening both he and the ambassadors were entertained by Wolsey at a most magnificent supper, the splendour of which, it was conceived, had never been equalled by the banquets of Cleopatra or Caligula. On the 5th, at Greenwich, the Sieur de Bonnivet, as proxy for the Dauphin, took the child Mary's hand and went through the form of marriage with her.

The scene even in St. Paul's when the treaty was sworn was declared by Bonnivet to be too magnificent for description. But the reading of the articles was not audible to any but the parties concerned—a sign, as the Venetian ambassador remarked, that they had cancelled the words of the preamble concerning the expedition against the Turks. And that was just as well, for Venice generally felt it needful to keep on good terms with the Turks, especially when there was no real intention on the part of other powers to make war on them. It was, in truth, a fact that no allusion was made to the crusade in the treaty. That which was professedly the main object of Campeggio's mission had been quietly set aside. But the mission had produced valuable results, both for England and for Wolsey. The English cardinal had acquired yet a new dignity—though it was only to last during the time of Campeggio's visit to England; and, what was far more than the mere title of legate, he had made his power felt as the negotiator of a new and close alliance between the two great Western powers, on which alliance a general European peace was to be based, if such a thing was to take form and shape at all. This great result, moreover, had been carried in the teeth of strong prejudices both at home and abroad. For an alliance with France was not popular with the English nobility. It was distasteful even to Queen Katharine. It was much disliked by young Charles of Spain, who had by this time succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand, and, having gone to take possession of his new kingdom, had been in the dark as to

what was going on in England. His ambassador, indeed, was disgusted at the special arrangement for giving Tournay back to France when it was really a Flemish city. But Charles himself, on consideration, felt it necessary to waive objections and join the general treaty in the January following.

On the death of Maximilian, in 1519, Charles and Francis I. became competitors for the Empire; and though Henry VIII. promised his new ally Francis that he would favour his candidature, his ambition was provoked to send his secretary Pace into Germany, to see if there was any chance of securing the election for himself. He might have spared his pains, even if he could have effectually concealed from Francis the evidence of his bad faith; which, in point of fact, the French king soon learned, but was too wise to complain of. Charles of Spain was elected emperor, and is henceforth known in history as Charles V.

It is impossible that Wolsey could have approved of Henry's policy in thus seeking to enter the field as a candidate; but, as already shown, he never ventured to oppose what the king had set his mind upon. Henry had hoped for some support from Rome, as he knew that the election either of Charles or of Francis would be distasteful to the pope; but when the result appeared no longer to be matter of doubt, his Holiness naturally favoured the winning side. At this Henry was displeased; but Wolsey, in his despatches to De' Gigli, bade him inform the pope that he had done his utmost to mitigate the king's resentment, and on the strength of this friendly service to the Holy See urged him to continue his authority as legate, which was only at first conferred upon him for a time that he might be Campeggio's colleague. Campeggio himself on returning to Rome advised the pope to comply with this request, and Wolsey's legateship was prolonged for a term of three years; after which it was continued for further terms by two successive popes, and further powers were added at each extension.

Wolsey's legateship prolonged.

Whether this was an advantage to the country it is difficult to say. It certainly led to collisions in the matter of jurisdiction between Wolsey and Warham, especially in testamentary business. The primate of all England was eclipsed by

the legate, who interfered in matters usually appertaining to the See of Canterbury. Even in 1518, just after being made legate, Wolsey wrote an official reprimand to his brother-archbishop for calling a council of his suffragans without his sanction to consider reforms in the Church. On January 23, 1523, an agreement was made between them about testamentary jurisdiction, but it does not seem to have worked satisfactorily; and a little later in the same year another curious example of the relations of the legate to his brother-archbishop excited much observation. Wolsey actually stopped the sittings of the Convocation of Canterbury at St. Paul's and caused it to sit with his own Convocation of York at Westminster. These collisions were but official, and apparently in the nature of things inevitable. Wolsey was always fully alive, not only to the dignity, but to the rights and privileges of every office that he held; and Warham was no less so. But their personal relations seem to have been entirely amicable.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold, in June 1520, transient as its glories were, was not only a display altogether unique of its kind, testifying to Wolsey's wonderful genius as an architect, but was also, in its short-lived brilliancy, most truly representative of a policy in which he found himself overruled. It was the final outcome of that Anglo-French alliance which he had so assiduously brought about in 1518. But in England that alliance had always been unpopular, not only from old traditional dislike to the French people, but also because it was manifestly opposed to the interests of the young emperor, the Queen of England's nephew, who inherited the goodwill that Englishmen had always felt towards the House of Austria. So the French alliance had been no sooner made than powerful influences began to undermine it, and the great interviews at the Field of the Cloth of Gold were really a delusive show. Just before Henry crossed to Calais the emperor came to England and visited him and the queen at Canterbury; and immediately after the splendid pageants were over they had another meeting with the emperor at Gravelines. The French were disgusted, and rightly suspected perfidy; for secret compacts had been made

The French alliance undermined.

to their prejudice both at Canterbury and at Gravelines. Yet in 1521, when war broke out between the emperor and Francis, Henry, professing to remain neutral till he knew the merits of the quarrel, sent Wolsey over to Calais to confer with representatives of both sides, but with secret instructions which compelled him to make a treaty with the emperor against France, in which moreover, with strange duplicity, the infant Princess Mary, so recently pledged to the Dauphin, was now transferred as a bride to the emperor.

As usual, Wolsey had bent himself to the king's fixed purpose; but in presiding over the Calais conferences he had earnestly endeavoured to bring about a truce, and in negotiating with the emperor he had sought to prevent the king committing himself prematurely to enter into a war which would too probably be for the sole advantage of his ally, and far too largely at his own expense. It was at this time that the papal See fell vacant by the death of Leo X.; and it was so manifestly desirable for the allies to have a new pope in whom they could both feel confidence, that the emperor wrote at once to Wolsey to say that he had not forgotten a promise made to him some time before to procure his elevation to the papacy. For years the emperor and Francis had competed for the cardinal's favour, and the emperor's offers on this point were only meant to counterbalance those of the French king, who had promised to secure for him the votes of several cardinals in any future conclave. It was quite Wolsey's object that they should bid against each other for the support of England, and he did not object to promises of this sort, or gifts, which he actually received, of fat benefices in Spain (though payment of their revenues was always in arrear), but he did not feel himself committed to either side by any presents made to him. And though, perhaps, he did not think the prospect of the papacy altogether hopeless, he does not appear to have been at all sanguine of attaining such elevation. He merely noted the emperor's promise to test his sincerity. The king, however, sent Pace to Rome to influence the cardinals, and Wolsey's name really was proposed in the conclave, but it is certain that no imperial influence was used in his behalf. The emperor's school-

The Calais conferences.

Wolsey named for the papacy.

master was elected on January 2, 1522, and became Pope Adrian VI.

Before proceeding with our survey of events we must go back somewhat. It was within eight weeks of his rather unexpected death that Leo X. conferred upon the King of England the title since borne by all his successors of Defender of the Faith. From early days Henry had shown a taste for theological discussion, and the story that his father had intended once to make him Archbishop of Canterbury is not at all incredible. In 1518, as we learn from Erasmus and some allusions in State papers, he composed a treatise on the question whether vocal prayer was necessary to a Christian; and Wolsey was pleased to tell him that he found his arguments invincible, although he had once thought otherwise, and had opposed his Majesty's views in private discussion. It is curious that this royal treatise has been lost sight of. Three years later a more ambitious subject occupied his pen. Martin Luther in Germany had been growing bolder and bolder. It was in 1517 that he had published his ninety-five theses against Tetzel and the sale of indulgences. So far he had only claimed the right of a doctor of divinity to denounce false doctrine and challenge his opponent to theological disputation. In 1520, however, after much further controversy, he not only burned Pope Leo's bull, but, confessing that his opponents had made him see some things more clearly, issued his famous treatise "on the Babylonish Captivity of the Church," in which he repudiated the pope's authority entirely, attacked the whole scholastic system with which the scriptural truths of religion had been overlaid, and declared four of the seven reputed sacraments to be only of human origin. The work produced a marvellous impression in Germany, where it was hailed for the most part with enthusiasm; and Bishop Tunstall, ambassador with the emperor at Worms, in the beginning of the following year piously hoped that copies of it might not find their way to England.

Henry VIII. Defender of the Faith.

They did, however; and Secretary Pace found the king perusing a copy in April 1521, just after the unhappy Duke of Buckingham had been lodged in the Tower, a victim to royal jealousy, to be next month tried and beheaded.

What strange thoughts must have kept company in Henry's brain! It was just four days after the duke's execution that he wrote to the pope informing him that he dedicated to his Holiness a treatise which he was composing in defence of the Christian faith. That was the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, which he was then writing in answer to Luther. The book was printed in July, and in accordance with instructions the English ambassador, Clerk, presented to the pope at a private audience a copy covered with cloth-of-gold with an inscription in the king's own hand. The pope read much of it, apparently with delight and eagerness, expressing unbounded admiration, but sagaciously objected to a public presentation lest it should create a new excitement on the part of the Lutherans. Clerk, however, was admitted to present it in Consistory, and next day the bull was issued conferring upon Henry the title of *Fidei Defensor*.

The king's book against Luther.

How little could any one imagine at that time that such a title was anything more than a diplomatic compliment to an amateur theologian! How little could Henry himself have believed that he would, after some years, put himself in the pope's own place, defending and defining, for domestic use, the ancient faith of Christendom! Yet the step he had already taken in writing a theological treatise in support of the pope's supreme authority in the Church was something so unusual that it did not escape notice among his councillors; and, curiously enough, the one councillor who ventured to remonstrate with him on his warm advocacy of the pope in this respect was Sir Thomas More. When he first read the book More suggested to the king, from a mere politician's point of view, that it might be well to leave that part of the matter out, or at least to touch it more gently, lest the king should hereafter have some dispute with the head of the Church at Rome. But the king replied warmly that he would not abate one word of what he had said on that point, and further declared to More a secret reason for maintaining it so strongly; of which reason Sir Thomas had never heard before, and which must remain to us a matter of speculation. As a result of further reading and study, however, More stated in later years that he finally came to the conclusion that the king was right, and that his own conscience would be "in

right great peril" if he denied the pope's primacy "to be provided by God."

Of course, the king's book was lauded to the skies. Numerous editions were published, and translations into German and English appeared a few years later. It contained some really able argument and some vituperation, which Luther was at no loss to return with interest. He believed it to be the work of Dr. Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, an ill-matched antagonist of Erasmus, and he struck at Lee through the king, whom he nevertheless declares that he, as in duty bound, "bespatters with his own mud" for blasphemies against Christ.

Wolsey's further preferments.

The papal See was not yet vacant when Wolsey returned to England in the end of November from the wearisome conferences at Calais, where his health had at times broken down, and he had spent, as the king himself reckoned, £10,000 in the expenses of his mission. Moreover, he had not attained a result satisfactory to himself. In reward for his services, however, the king bestowed on him the abbacy of St. Alban's which had just fallen vacant; and this he held *in commendam* during the next eight years, together with his archbishopric of York and another important bishopric besides; for he had still at this time the See of Bath, forfeited by Cardinal Adrian. He resigned Bath, however, in 1523 on Ruthall's death, for the bishopric of Durham, giving up that again six years later for the See of Winchester. With such benefices in his actual possession he had no great occasion to long for the papal chair; and we can very well account for his opposition to the emperor's schemes without attributing it, as others have done, to disappointment in this matter.

His policy.

It was to counteract Wolsey's policy and get a new loan from the king, with an immediate declaration against France, that the emperor again visited England in May 1522, and his visit was successful. England was fully committed to the war, and Wolsey was made the instrument to procure the means; which he certainly solicited in rather extreme ways, first by a loan, then next year by a heavy subsidy in Parliament, and two years later by a so-called "amicable grant"—a mode of extortion which had to be given up after raising a rebellion in some quarters. All

this added to the unpopularity which he had already incurred by his known French leanings before the war, when he was libelled in Skelton's verse as betraying his country for French crowns. And Skelton again satirised his action in 1523 when, the Convocations of Canterbury and York having been called concurrently with Parliament for supplies, he as legate stopped the proceedings of the former at St. Paul's and caused both the Convocations to meet together before himself at Westminster.

During this war there was another vacancy of the papal See, when the emperor again behaved with the same hypocrisy to Wolsey that he had done before. But that was to be expected, and Wolsey was by no means disappointed at the election of Clement VII., who had been a good friend to England when he was known simply as Cardinal de Medicis. Two months after his election the new pope confirmed Wolsey's legateship for life; and he very soon after conferred upon him other favours of a kind which probably gratified him even more.

Another papal election.

For it must not be supposed that, engrossed as he was with high affairs of State, and bound to devise measures in accordance with royal policy, he had no high projects of his own. He had, in fact, great designs for the benefit alike of the Church and of the country. In 1524 he procured from Clement VII. bulls to enable him to convert the monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford into a college, transferring the canons elsewhere, and to endow it by the suppression of a number of small monasteries, the continuance of which seemed not very necessary. Another college he intended to found in like manner in his native town of Ipswich. These projects he had very much at heart, and must have spent a large amount of money on them both in England and at the court of Rome. The dissolution of these monasteries, however, small as they were, was not liked in the country; and at Bayham, a Premonstratensian house in Sussex, the country people, disguising themselves, put the canons in again for a time—an outrage which, of course, was duly punished. The cardinal's design, moreover, was not recommended to the people by the acts of some of his agents, especially not by those of one Thomas Cromwell, of whom we shall read much hereafter, who had "an itching palm" for gratuities.

Wolsey's proposed colleges.

The emperor turned out, as Wolsey expected, a very expensive ally to England, and after his armies had taken Francis I. prisoner at Pavia it became quite clear that he meant to keep the whole profits of the victory to himself. But Wolsey effectually counteracted his attempts to leave England in the lurch, and made a treaty with the French king's mother, securing very large payments to his own king for his assistance to procure her son's liberation. And he continued to make Francis, after he was released from captivity, feel the need of England's friendship rather than the emperor's, till in the spring of 1527 a great embassy was sent over, with Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, at the head, to procure a closer alliance by which Francis might the more easily recover his two sons whom he had been obliged to leave as hostages for himself in Spain. For this again the French were compelled to pay in money most heavily; but the end was worth the price. Finally, it was arranged that Wolsey should go over to France a little later in the year and make the alliance still more firm and binding. Not only the king, but some of the council also, appeared now to have become wonderful converts to his policy of a French alliance rather than an imperial one. But it is certain that Wolsey himself did not know all the reasons which caused the current to set in that direction.

How he counterplotted the emperor.

AUTHORITIES.—Lupton's *Life of Dean Colet* (1887) and his pamphlet on *Colet's Influence on the Reformation* (1893) are of value apart from matters of opinion; the former contains the best text of Colet's sermon to Convocation; Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* is also a valuable help; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (Brewer), vols. i.-iii., and the other Calendars of State Papers for the period contain much information bearing on ecclesiastical and civil history, the chief points in which will be more easily verified through Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.*; *Letters of Erasmus*, especially lib. viii. ep. 8 and lib. xv. ep. 14 (which gives a most interesting account of Colet's life). For an account of Cardinal Wolsey's policy at this time see *Drei Jahre englischer Vermittlungspolitik*, 1518-1521, by Dr. Wilhelm Busch (Bonn, 1884); also *Cardinal Wolsey und die englisch-kaiserliche Allianz* (1522) by the same writer (Bonn, 1886). For what relates to individual men the reader may consult Batten's *Life of Fox* (noticed under Chapter I.) and the articles on "Colet," "Fox," "Ruthall," and "Wolsey" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As to the friction between Wolsey's jurisdiction as legate and that of Warham as archbishop see Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 660, 661, 681, and Hall's *Chronicle*, 657. For Henry VIII.'s work on vocal prayer see Erasm. *Epp.* lib. vi. no. 12, col. 357; lib. xix. 107, col. 942; cp. Pace's letter to Wolsey in Calendar, June 24, 1518 (no. 4257, p. 1319). For More's conversation with the king about the pope's primacy see his *English Works*, p. 1426.

CHAPTER VI

HENRY VIII.'S DIVORCE SUIT

THE Bishop of Tarbes and his colleagues had concluded a treaty with Wolsey on April 30th and returned home. Wolsey set out for France in the beginning of July. Between these dates some very important matters had taken place in secret, rumours of which were already spread before the cardinal's departure. It must have been early in May that the king imparted to him the awful secret that he desired to be divorced from his queen, Katharine of Aragon. The opposite statement, so often repeated, that it was Wolsey who inspired the king with doubts of the validity of his marriage, is not only morally incredible, but opposed to the most convincing written evidences; for all along it was the king who feared that Wolsey was not hearty in promoting this particular object, while Wolsey was trying hard to assure him that he was so—merely because loss of the king's favour, he knew, would be his utter ruin. In fact, the king's design was so deep that he did not entrust even Wolsey with all that was in his mind; and it is certain that Wolsey went to France in July without any suspicion of so wild a project as that of making a woman like Anne Boleyn take Katharine's place as queen. Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, recently created Viscount Rochford, had certainly held possession of the king's affections for some years, and had no doubt preserved her innocence hitherto against the king's advances; but no one looked upon her as fit to share a throne. Wolsey quite believed that the king had a

Henry VIII. intends a divorce from Katharine of Aragon.

His ultimate object kept secret from Wolsey.

French princess in view—not the Duchess of Alençon, as the story went in a later generation, for she had been already married in the preceding January, but Renée, daughter of Louis XII., who ultimately became Duchess of Ferrara.

But meanwhile, as soon as he knew that the king was resolved on a divorce, and that there was little hope of diverting him from his purpose, Wolsey first threw out a project by which the king might at least feel his way, and perhaps discover for himself, by the intricacies opening out before him, how very hopeless the thing really was. Henry was most desirous that it should appear that doubts raised about the validity of his marriage did not originate with himself; and for this reason he consented that Wolsey should use his legatine authority, and call him before him and Archbishop Warham in secret, requiring him to prove that his marriage was really valid. Archbishop Warham, it will be remembered, had objected to the marriage at the first, and he evidently believed there might be a question even now as to its validity. The king appeared and gave the cardinal and archbishop liberty to state their objections; which being stated, the king read a written reply, and appointed a proctor for the further hearings. But nothing came of these proceedings, except that they afforded a pretext for the king to notify to Katharine, which he did on June 22, that he had been informed by divines and lawyers that they had not been truly married, but had been eighteen years living in sin. The queen burst into tears, but the king begged her still to keep the matter secret and he would do all he could for her. Nobody could believe, as yet, that the king would go through with such a design, and the queen's remonstrances presently brought a new point to light, the discovery of which certainly made it look more hopeless than ever. The queen solemnly declared that Prince Arthur had never consummated his marriage with her; so that the obstacle of affinity to her second marriage did not really exist.

Secret inquiry as to the validity of the king's marriage.

This seems to have been a revelation to Wolsey which filled him with discomfort; but when the king suspected his misgivings he protested that he had no more doubt of the matter than before. Although, he said, there might be no affinity to bar her marriage with the king, still Katharine

had been married to his brother *in facie ecclesiæ*, and thereby there was an *impedimentum publicæ honestatis*, which was not dispensed with in the bull. On this plea Wolsey informed the king he thought the marriage might still be proved invalid; and he set out for France still hoping that he retained the king's confidence. On the way he was visited by Archbishop Warham, with whom he talked about the case, saying that the queen had most unfortunately taken alarm, though the king had no object but to discover the truth; and Warham in his simplicity wondered how the queen had come to hear of it, but said that, however disagreeable to her, the law must prevail. Later in his journey the cardinal visited Bishop Fisher at his cathedral city of Rochester, learned from him what rumours he had heard about the king's intended divorce, and, bidding him keep the matter secret, assured him they were quite mistaken. The king, he said, had no such object at all; but the Bishop of Tarbes in the spring had thrown doubts upon the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, and the king had thus been driven to consult divines and lawyers about the dispensing power of the pope. This shameful mendacity the cardinal did not scruple to use in concert with the king to prevent outcry among the people. But in France, though arrayed in greater glory than he ever was in his life before—for he was sent as the king's lieutenant and not as a mere ambassador, and had all the attention paid to him that could have been paid to his sovereign,—he found too clear evidence that in this matter he was not in the king's confidence after all.

Wolsey's mendacity.

The ostensible object of his mission to France was to make a firm alliance between France and England against the emperor, whose troops had treacherously attacked Rome in the preceding year, and afterwards in May 1527 (though Charles had disowned the previous outrage) had again entered the city and sacked it with barbarities worse than those of Alaric and the Goths, compelling the pope to take refuge for months in the castle of St. Angelo. In going to France, Wolsey had ordered at Canterbury a special litany for Pope Clement to be sung by the monks of Christ Church. When in France he was met by Francis himself on his way to Amiens, where he confirmed a number of

His mission to France.

different treaties with him in the cathedral, one of them being for refusing assent to any general council called by the emperor so long as the pope remained a prisoner. These treaties completed the ostensible business for which he had gone over, but he remained still behind. He awaited further instructions; but he was forbidden to speak about the king's intentions except in a very hazy manner, and without saying a word about Renée. In September he became aware that the king had other designs than he had thought fit to communicate to him, when the king's secretary, William Knight, came to him at Compiègne with letters desiring that he would forward him on a mission to Rome. He saw clearly that the object was to take the divorce business out of his hands, and as soon as he found it possible he returned to England. He then had to repair to court at the summons of Anne Boleyn, whom he found on his arrival closeted with the king.

It is doubtful whether Henry's married life had been pure even from the first. Ten years after marriage he had a child by one Elizabeth Blount—a boy, whom in 1525 he advanced to the dignity of Duke of Richmond, giving him at the age of six a household with which to hold state in the North, while the Princess Mary with an inferior establishment was to rule in the marches of Wales. At the same time the Boleyn family began to have honours showered thick upon them, Anne's father being created Viscount Rochford. But the king's passion for Anne, though no doubt sufficiently obvious at court, could have provoked no great amount of speculation; for he had already debauched her sister and was expected to do the same with her. Anne, however, withstood his advances, and was not to be won, except by pledges which a married man had no right to give; and the king was considering now how to make these pledges good, either by obtaining from the pope (in consideration of his merits towards the Holy See) a licence for bigamy, or a declaration of nullity on the theory that there was a flaw in the dispensation for his first marriage. To his eager eyes it appeared that either of these ways was conceivable, and he had actually despatched Knight to procure the former, if possible; but on Wolsey's remonstrance he recalled his instructions and set his mind on the latter. A

Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn.

dispensation, however, would be required to marry Anne quite as much as it had been for his marriage with Katharine; for by his illicit intercourse with her sister, Anne stood in precisely the same degree of affinity to him that Katharine had done by her marriage to his brother. This seemed to the king the most serious obstacle in his way; for as to his existing marriage, he believed it could be treated as null, and declared so with comparative ease. So, again concealing from Wolsey the step he proposed to take, he got a draft bull of dispensation drawn up in England and sent over in secret to Knight in Italy, that he might get it passed under lead. This document expressly sets forth that the king considered he had incurred excommunication by marrying Katharine, from which he hoped to be released by some competent judge; and it empowered him, in that case, to marry any woman, even in the first degree of affinity, in whatever way that affinity might have been contracted, whether by lawful or unlawful connection.

To obtain this, the reader might suppose, was a matter of some difficulty; but the real difficulty proved only to be in getting access to the pope while he was a prisoner. Knight found this absolutely impossible, but contrived through Cardinal Pisani to get the draft dispensation submitted to him, and received an answer from Clement that he would do what was required as soon as he should have regained his liberty. Very soon afterwards the pope escaped from St. Angelo, and when Knight followed him to Orvieto, though he tried to excuse himself a little, he passed the document with only a few corrections and promised to send it after Knight, who thereupon started homewards, believing that he had done pretty well. He had not gone far, however, when he was met by a courier from the king with despatches which compelled him to go back and obtain for Wolsey a very special commission, the exact nature of which must be a matter of conjecture—most probably to examine the sufficiency of the dispensation on which the king had married Katharine, and which, we know, it was intended to prove invalid by some flimsy objections. To procure this commission he hastened back with Sir Gregory Casale, an Italian agent of the king, whose services in such a matter were likely to be of value, and tried to impress upon the pope the argument that the uncer-

Knight's mission to Italy.

tainty of the succession in England from the king having no male heir seriously endangered the peace of the kingdom. The pope handed the draft commission to Cardinal Pucci, who, on examining it, reported that if such a commission were passed it would be to the eternal dishonour of the pope, the king, and Wolsey. Pucci thereupon cut out and altered several clauses to render it unobjectionable; but the pope declared that even so it was unsafe for him to grant it while he was still so much in the emperor's power. When the French troops came nearer Rome he might concede it, excusing himself to the emperor as having acted under pressure; and he promised to send it then. With this promise Knight and Casale had to be content, and the former again set out for England.

In this business Knight had been following the king's instructions and neglecting those of Wolsey, whom the king and he had agreed to hoodwink; but it soon appeared that nothing had been really gained by which the king's object might be effected. In the beginning of 1528 the whole business had to be confided frankly to Wolsey, and he despatched his secretary, Stephen Gardiner, along with Edward Foxe, to the pope, whom they found still at Orvieto, to urge that he should send a decretal commission—that is to say, a commission laying down the law by which such a case should be determined—to Wolsey and some others, who should try, and decide without appeal, the question whether the facts were such as to make the dispensation of Julius invalid. Gardiner used his most able advocacy, and, by his own account, browbeat the pope and cardinals for raising undue obstacles to a demand on the king's part which he maintained to be undeniably just. But his account of the matter was certainly highly coloured. The pope and cardinals were not to be persuaded, and Gardiner was obliged to content himself with a more general commission, with which he despatched Foxe to England. The king and Anne Boleyn, however, believed that he had done wonders, and were easily persuaded by Foxe that whatever was lacking in the commission would be made good by a private undertaking of the pope to confirm the sentence and not to revoke the cause.

Gardiner's efforts to obtain a decretal commission;

Wolsey, however, saw the matter differently. The commission obtained was really of no more value than that pro-

cured by Knight, and the cardinal at once wrote to Gardiner still to press for a decretal, using all sorts of arguments to show that it was important even in the interests of the Holy See that the king, to whom he had given the strongest assurances of the pope's friendliness in this matter, should not be driven by disappointment to pursue a dangerous course. A decretal, even one not to be used in the process, but only to be shown to the king, would at least save his credit with Henry, and Gardiner was instructed to make the most solemn oath that if granted it should not be shown to any one else. Thus urged, the pope, with great hesitation, conceded a thing essentially wrong in itself. He agreed to send Cardinal Campeggio to England to try the cause along with Wolsey; and Campeggio took with him, besides a more regular commission, a decretal commission of the kind asked for, with strict injunctions that it was not to be used in the procedure but to be shown only to the king and Wolsey, and afterwards to be burnt. Gardiner then repaired homewards, and after his departure another bad concession was wrung from the pope by Sir Gregory Casale in the shape of a written promise not to revoke or interfere with the due execution of the commission.

which the pope at last concedes, but not for use.

The choice of a legate to sit with Wolsey had not been an easy matter, and the mission was not very agreeable to Campeggio himself, who was a great sufferer from gout, and took no less than two months and a half on the way from Italy to England. We may, however, while he is on the road, take the opportunity to relate some domestic events having a more immediate bearing on religion than even a legatine mission of such an unprecedented character. The flame raised by Luther in Germany, though quite unintelligible to Englishmen at large, had by this time got hold of some little companies at the two universities, and the White Horse Inn at Cambridge was nicknamed Germany, because it afforded easy access to men of Lutheran tendencies from the backs of three of the colleges. On Sunday, December 24, 1525, Dr. Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustinian Friars at Cambridge, preached a sermon at St. Edward's Church there from the words of the Epistle for the day ("Rejoice in the Lord alway"), deprecating such

Lutheranism in England.

Barnes at Cambridge.

special observances as those of the great Christmas feast. The preacher, who was a man of about thirty, had only received his degree of D.D. at that university two years before, and previously to that had studied at Louvain. The sermon caused him to be at once charged with heresy before the vice-chancellor, and afterwards before Wolsey as legate, who reasoned with him mildly. He maintained the twenty-five articles with which he was charged, but, three bishops having been deputed to examine him, he was at length compelled to abjure at St. Paul's along with four German merchants.

We shall hear of Dr. Barnes again; but it should be further remarked about him before we go on to speak of other Lutherans, that on this occasion he was most gently dealt with, not only by Wolsey, but by Gardiner and Edward Foxe, who presented him to the cardinal and kept him from being sent to the Tower. One of the articles with which he was charged was aimed at the pomp and display made by Wolsey himself; and the cardinal quietly asked him whether he considered that he ought to coin his silver pillars and pole-axes to relieve the poor, rather than employ such symbols of State for the public good. Barnes told him that he thought they should be coined. For the sake even of his university Wolsey would fain have saved the fanatic from humiliation; but Barnes insisted on disputing the matter with divines, and it soon appeared that his ability as a disputant did not equal his polemical spirit.

Another source of spiritual danger came under the attention of the bishops in 1527. An English translation of the New Testament, executed under Lutheran influence, had been printed abroad and had been secretly imported into England at the close of the preceding year. It was the work of an enthusiast strongly opposed to Church authority. William Tyndale, otherwise called Huchyns or Hychyns, was a west-country man who, after a good university training, first at Oxford and afterwards at Cambridge, took orders and became chaplain to Sir John Walsh, a knight of Gloucestershire. Having preached at times in Bristol and the neighbouring country, he was delated for heresy to Dr. Parker, chancellor of Worcester diocese, but escaped unpunished. He proposed to himself the task of translating the Bible, and came up to London, where he sought to get into

Tyndale's New Testament.

Bishop Tunstall's service, but the bishop had chaplains enough. He found another patron, however, in Humphrey Monmouth, a rich cloth-merchant, who was interested in some occasional sermons which he delivered at St. Dunstan's in the West. For a short time Monmouth received him into his house; but the project on which he had set his heart was one which had to be executed abroad, and Monmouth gave him money to go and to pursue his labours. He sailed to Hamburg, apparently in 1524, went to Luther at Wittemberg, and afterwards, with the aid of a runaway English friar, William Roye, who acted as his secretary, began printing at Cologne an English New Testament on the model of Luther's German one. Their proceedings were interrupted by the German divine Cochlæus, who found out what was going on and informed the civic authorities. The two fled to Worms with sheets of the unfinished work, and succeeded at length in printing two editions, the one in octavo and the other in quarto, of 3000 copies each. The latter was enriched with copious marginal glosses.

Search was ordered to be made for this and other books in England as early as November 3, 1526, by a mandate from Archbishop Warham, who, by May of the following year, believed that he had bought up the whole impression of both editions abroad for the sum of £66 13s. 4d., to which he invited the bishops of his province each to contribute his quota. And this they no doubt did, as certainly Bishop Nix of Norwich did. But in vain did they congratulate themselves that they had suppressed the book; for it would seem that in 1529, when Bishop Tunstall was abroad, he found that there were more copies on sale at Antwerp, and used the services of one Augustine Packington to buy these up also with a view to their being burnt. And burnt, of course, they were; but the only result was to put money into Tyndale's pocket which enabled him to print new editions.

It was no doubt easier in days gone by to close up the fountains of a literature esteemed as poisonous; but the task had become hopeless now with such an agency as the printing press for its diffusion. Nevertheless, prohibited books could only be read in secret societies, where the brethren knew each other and helped each other to evade inquiries. At Oxford,

in February 1528, no small excitement was created by the escape of a priest named Thomas Garret or Garrard, who had been arrested as a heretic by secret warrant from Wolsey. He had been selling Lutheran books since his arrival at Oxford the Christmas before. One of the secret brethren, Anthony Dalaber, a scholar of St. Alban's Hall, aided his escape, giving him a lay habit for disguise. But, the commissary of Oxford having sent notice to all the ports, the fugitive was arrested at Bedminster near Bristol and lodged in Ilchester gaol. On the news of his capture, Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote to Wolsey that since he was caught his escape might be considered fortunate, so much had been revealed that was before unknown. He seems to have slightly infected some of Wolsey's new college, who, however, desired to be absolved from excommunication for Easter. He had confederates in London, among them Farman, parson of Honey Lane—a living he himself held long afterwards. There were fears, too, that he had done much mischief at Reading Abbey, where he had sold the prior more than sixty books. Nay, even on the last Sunday in Lent, a monk of Bury had dared to preach at St. Peter's, Oxford, railing at Wolsey and the bishops for sequestration of evil preachers, and encouraging the heretics with the words, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body." But Garret himself made a confession of his errors and wrote to Wolsey desiring to be released from excommunication.

Garret's escape from Oxford.

With the fear of the stake before their eyes, men had not the courage of their opinions. No doubt when they recanted they were often convinced by other arguments besides fear; but fear was only too likely to affect their judgment. And how demoralising it was to have secret societies with books kept underground, and "brethren," as Dalaber's own account of the matter shows, concealing escapes like that of Garret by repeated falsehoods, confirmed, when necessary, by perjury! Heresy was regarded as an evil weed, which even humane men like Sir Thomas More considered it necessary to stamp out at all costs.

To return to the question of the king's divorce. Campeggio arrived in England in October. He had secret instructions from the pope given him at his departure to

do all he could in the first place to dissuade the king from bringing the matter on to a trial; and if he failed in that, to endeavour to induce the queen to enter a nunnery. Moreover, he had promised the pope that if the trial came on he would not pronounce sentence without letting his Holiness know the opinion he had come to; for, as a matter of canon law, he really believed that a good deal might perhaps be said on both sides. He soon found, however, that it was hopeless to dissuade the king from his purpose. Henry was master of the whole subject—at least of all the points which made in his favour—and an angel from heaven, Campeggio said, could not convince him that he was wrong. He only wanted an authoritative decision. The queen was equally determined not to retire into a convent. Her cause was popular everywhere, and she was cheered in the streets, while Campeggio was received with manifest ill-will as one sent purposely to perpetrate an injustice. The king himself called the lord mayor and aldermen of London to come to him at Bridewell, and tried to disarm obloquy by a jesuitical speech reproducing the fiction about the Bishop of Tarbes, and declaring that he was only anxious to secure a peaceful succession after his death. But his desire to hasten the trial was soon checked when Katharine showed Campeggio a copy of the brief of Julius II. for her marriage with Henry—the brief which, as we have seen,[1] was issued before the bull. This brief really cut away the ground on which the king rested his case, because it was granted on information that Prince Arthur had actually consummated his marriage with her. This statement the king himself knew perfectly well to be false; but he had relied on the fact that the presumption was in its favour, and that the testimony of Katharine to the contrary could not be admitted as evidence. What was to be said now, when, even supposing it to be true, there was actually a dispensation which met the case exactly?

Campeggio in England.

The brief of Julius II.

Henry was much perplexed, and made desperate efforts either to get the original brief out of Spain into his own hands, or to get it declared a forgery. In pursuit of the

[1] See above, p. 9.

former project he coerced the queen to write to the emperor for the document, as necessary for the defence of her cause; but her messenger, as soon as he had reached Spain, wrote himself to the emperor that her real wishes were just the opposite of what she had been compelled to put on paper. The queen's treatment, indeed, even at this time was shameful. Separated from her husband (who now lived under one roof with Anne Boleyn at Greenwich), visited by deputations, who reproached her with her conduct towards him, surrounded by spies to cut her off from friendly help, and forced to write letters against her real mind, it was hard to conceive that much worse could be in store for her. But the king was more infatuated than ever in his passion for Anne, being quite persuaded apparently that, notwithstanding all obstacles, a sentence would soon be passed in his favour, by which he could make her his queen.

At last, after the failure of all efforts to get the brief pronounced a forgery, it was determined to hurry on proceedings and obtain a sentence, if possible, before the cause should be revoked at Rome. For, indeed, the English ambassadors at Rome received a citation at the beginning of May 1529 to show cause why such revocation should not take place; and good reason there undoubtedly was to justify it, for the queen, notwithstanding the spies by whom she was surrounded, had been able to send to Rome a statement of the constraint to which she was subjected. On May 31 the legatine court was formally opened by the king's licence in the great hall of the Black Friars, and citations were sent to the king and queen to appear before the two judges on June 18. On that day the queen appeared and refused the judges, making a formal appeal against their jurisdiction. The legates took her objections into consideration on the 21st, and pronounced themselves competent judges; on which she made an appeal to the pope and withdrew. The legates went on with the cause, and on the 28th Bishop Fisher made a speech in court which produced a profound impression. The king, he said, at a former sitting had invited any one who felt competent to do so to relieve his conscience of the scruple with regard to his marriage, and he, the bishop, felt bound to declare to

The legatine court at Blackfriars.

him the result of two years' study of the question, adding that he was ready to lay down his life for his opinion, as the cause of matrimony was even more sacred since Christ's day than it was when John the Baptist died for it. He then handed in a book which he had written on the subject.

The legates remonstrated that this was an interruption, as the cause was not committed to Bishop Fisher; but Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Ligham, Dean of the Arches, supported Fisher's contention in favour of the queen. The king drew up a very ill-tempered reply, and from that day, it is clear, his illwill towards Fisher never abated. The proceedings were pushed on till July 23, when Campeggio, in conformity with the Roman practice at that time of year, declared the court prorogued till the beginning of October. What this implied was clear. No one expected it to meet again, and the king for a while seemed to have dismissed the idea of prosecuting his suit for a divorce any further. In form the past proceedings had been merely *ex officio*, as if they had not been originated by him at all, and his object now was to prevent publication of his coming citation to Rome, and to get Campeggio to stop further proceedings there, even at the queen's suit. We are told by Cardinal Pole that those about him were greatly relieved, believing that the matter was at an end. But in the beginning of August the king in the course of a progress came to Waltham Abbey, and with him the two associates, Gardiner and Foxe, whom he had employed in this business at Rome. At the house where these two were lodged was one Thomas Cranmer, a private tutor, who had removed thither with two pupils from Cambridge to escape a pestilence; and in conversation he suggested to them that the king might get sufficient authority for treating his marriage as null if he only procured a number of opinions to that effect from universities. The suggestion was shortly afterwards mentioned to the king, who caught at it at once.

Cranmer's suggestion.

Meanwhile the nobles at Henry's court, who had long resented Wolsey's monopoly of the king's favour, had seen their opportunity in the divorce question to procure his fall. The Duke of Norfolk was Anne Boleyn's uncle. Her father, her brother, and her cousin,

Wolsey's fall.

Sir Francis Brian, were powerful about the court, and used their influence with her to keep Wolsey at a distance from the king. He was allowed, though with difficulty, to be present when Campeggio took his leave to go to Rome, and Henry, to the disgust of all the courtiers, had a long conversation with him. But Anne Boleyn resolved that it should be his last interview, and by her extraordinary influence over Henry she succeeded. A mere farewell next morning was all that was allowed him. In October the storm burst, and he was indicted of a *præmunire* in the King's Bench, which for reasons of policy he himself confessed, though he had procured neither cardinalate, legateship, nor bulls from Rome of any kind without the king's consent. The great seal was taken from him, and More was appointed chancellor in his room. He was obliged to give up all his property to the king, and to retire to Esher, a house belonging to his bishopric of Winchester. But on his way thither Henry Norris met him at Putney and gave him a gold ring from the king as a token, with a secret message that the king was not displeased with him, but had been obliged to do as he did to satisfy Anne Boleyn and her friends; all should be well in the end. Wolsey at this lighted from his mule like a young man, and "kneeled down in the dirt upon both his knees, holding up his hands for joy." It seemed he was not left quite to the fury of his enemies.

He was, however, hated by good men and bad alike, and by bad men for opposite reasons. They insinuated that he had not done his utmost for the divorce, and then that he had put the scruple into the king's head and led him in quest of what was hopeless. Parliament was summoned, and was opened by the king himself in November, with Sir Thomas More at his right hand as chancellor, who said some bitter things of his predecessor. Good men believed, and Sir Thomas himself no doubt hoped, that with his appointment the pursuit of a divorce was at an end; for he had distinctly told the king he could not serve him in that way. A bill of attainder against Wolsey was prepared, very unfair in tone, and, as he himself protested, untrue in many of its statements; but it passed the House of Lords on December 1, and seemed in a fair way to pass the Commons as well, were it

not that Wolsey had there an able defender in Thomas Cromwell, who had already found access to the king, and was able to use arguments in the House by which it was thrown out.

This Thomas Cromwell was said to have been the son of a blacksmith at Putney. He had lived a roving, disorderly youth, having been a soldier in the French service in Italy; but he had afterwards married a shearman's daughter in England, and applied himself to the arts of making money and gaining favour. He got into Wolsey's service, and had been employed by him in the suppression of the small monasteries dissolved for the foundation of the cardinal's two colleges—a business in which his conduct laid him open to serious complaints. Just before his defence of Wolsey in the House of Commons he had gone to court for his own sake, not for his master's, very uncomfortable as to how the judgment upon Wolsey might affect himself; and he found his own and his master's prospects more auspicious than he altogether expected. The king, apparently, gave him the means to thwart the bill of attainder, and probably began to feel at the same time that in him he had a new instrument on whom he might rely for a new policy. But the nobles, and particularly the Duke of Norfolk, who was for the present most influential in the council, were disquieted by the consciousness that the king regretted the loss of such an able adviser as the cardinal, whose counsels he had always valued a great deal more than theirs; and fearing his being recalled to power, they persuaded the king to send him to the North to attend to his diocese of York. Wolsey obeyed, and not unwillingly. The king had cured him of ambition, and his desire was now to do his duties as a Churchman. Yet the king sought to profit by his depression, and compelled him to give up York Place at Westminster for a royal palace, to the injury of his See. Judge Shelley was sent to him to make the demand, and procure execution of the deed. The judge admitted that there was "some conscience in the case," but thought Wolsey might acquiesce considering "the king's high power," who was able to compensate the church of York double the value of what he took, though there was no condition that he would. "Master Shelley," said the cardinal, "I will no wise disobey, inasmuch as ye,

Thomas Cromwell.

the fathers of the laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore I charge your conscience, and discharge mine. Howbeit, I pray you, show his Majesty from me, that I most humbly desire his Highness to call to his most gracious remembrance that there is both heaven and hell."

He was no abject sycophant who could use such words. Wolsey had submitted to great personal discomforts at Esher, and at Christmas he was so ill that the king sent Dr. Buttes to him, who reported him to be in serious danger; on which the king not only sent him a cheering message with further medical aid, but induced even Anne Boleyn to send him a token. In February he executed an indenture with the king, resigning the bishopric of Winchester and the abbey of St. Albans for the sum of £6374 : 3 : 7½, of which only £3000 was given him in money, the rest in necessary goods and furniture. Before he left for the North the king allowed him to occupy for some time a lodge in Richmond Park for his health; but Norfolk was so impatient of his stay that he set out in Passion Week. During the summer he rested at Southwell, where there was a palace sadly out of repair belonging to his archbishopric. While there, he learned to his intense grief that the king had resolved on the suppression of his two colleges at Ipswich and at Oxford. In September he moved farther north, and had arranged to be installed at York on November 7, to the general joy of all the country, for he had shown himself a most popular archbishop, composing quarrels and doing kindly acts everywhere. Suddenly the Earl of Northumberland came to him at Cawood with a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and arrested him on a charge of treason. Some conversations he had had with the French ambassador had been betrayed to Norfolk by an Italian physician in his service, who had been well paid for his treachery, and added wicked exaggerations. Wolsey journeyed southward again to Sheffield, where he was kindly received as a guest by the Earl of Shrewsbury, but a visit here from Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, convinced him of the awful fate intended for him. He was so ill he could hardly travel, but in a few days he reached Leicester in a state of extreme weakness, and there took to his bed, telling the abbot, "I come to leave my bones

Wolsey's journey to the North.

His arrest,

among you," because he had been admitted a brother of the house some years before. He lingered from Saturday night till Tuesday morning, November 29, and death 1530. when he passed away at eight o'clock.

Just before his end Sir William Kingston had been endeavouring to reassure him, telling him he made himself worse by vain fears. "Well, well, Master Kingston," he replied, "I see the matter against me how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

AUTHORITIES.—Calendars of State Papers, especially *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., and Spanish, vols. iii., part ii., and iv., part i. For the story of the divorce see *English Historical Review*, vols. xi. and xii., and Ehses' *Römische Dokumente*. For Cranmer's suggestion see Nichols's *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camden Society), pp. 240-242. For Tyndale and his New Testament see Demaus's *Life of Tyndale* (Lovett's edition, 1886); Ellis's *Letters*, 3rd ser. ii. 71-76, 86-92; Hall's *Chronicle*, pp. 762-763; *Dictionary of National Biography*, etc. For Barnes see *Dictionary of National Biography*, and authorities there quoted. For Garret see Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and the notices in *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv.

CHAPTER VII

THE SUBMISSION OF THE CLERGY

"THE king has gone beyond me," says Wolsey in the play, when, by a bold dramatic anachronism, he is represented as receiving the news of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, which took place more than two years after his death. The playwright, like the painter, must occasionally fill up the scene with impossibilities; but the really essential fact was not wrong.

Henry's far-reaching policy.

The king, as we have seen, had really gone beyond Wolsey in his designs, and there was no statesman now to whom he even thought of looking for guidance. A minister rather looked for guidance to him; and he was prepared to "go beyond" Norfolk, beyond Cromwell, beyond any minister whatever, with even greater readiness than he had gone beyond Wolsey. Nay more, as the world was by and by to discover, he was prepared to go beyond any understandings or compacts by which the pope, the emperor, Francis I., or any prince in Christendom might fancy for a moment that they had bound him.

Henceforth the most servile pliancy was the road to favour; but a new policy might be suggested by one who understood his aims and was not over-scrupulous about the means of promoting them. The Duke of Norfolk, who seemed to manage everything upon Wolsey's fall, was subservient enough, but his idea that noblemen again would rule was purely a delusion. The man of the coming era

Thomas Cromwell.

was Thomas Cromwell, who had already been studying the principles of Macchiavelli, and disgusted Reginald Pole by telling him that the ABC of statesmanship was to discover and to follow up whatever the prince had in

view; for princes were not bound by the same laws of honour as mere private persons. Cromwell, according to Pole's firm belief—and from his knowledge of the man he was sure it did him no injustice—had already inspired the king with the idea that if he could not get his way from the pope he could abolish papal jurisdiction in England, and with it the theoretical exemption of the clergy from the civil power. It was monstrous, he suggested, to have two governments in one country. The king should make himself supreme head of the Church in England, and then it should be treason to withstand his will in any matter.

Suggestion of royal supremacy.

If counsel such as this was not actually breathed into the king's ear by Cromwell as early as November 1529, the whole course of public events, even in that brief parliamentary session before Christmas, as well as in later years, was certainly framed exactly upon these lines. But it should be noted that this advice itself suggested an interim policy of keeping friends with the pope as long as convenient; and with this view the suggestion of Cranmer about the universities was very much to the purpose. Who could object to offering a general question to disputation in English and foreign seats of learning? And if the desired decision could only be obtained by a good deal of bribery and other indirect methods, it would take some time to prove the degree of corruption used, and the king might perhaps avail himself of the decisions meanwhile, marry Anne Boleyn, and rest upon the strength of an accomplished fact. In any case, such a king as Henry could brandish these decisions in the face of the world as a full justification of his position. This was the line of policy clearly in view as a consequence of Cranmer's suggestion; and even before the two legates had taken leave of the king, Wolsey had spoken to Du Bellay, the French ambassador, about getting opinions from divines in France. About a month later Reginald Pole, of whom we have just spoken, went abroad to study in Paris. He was already a distinguished scholar, being now in his thirtieth year, and his relations to the king at this time were those of a grateful kinsman[1]

Reginald Pole.

[1] His mother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was the daughter of the ill-fated Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. The king's mother was a daughter of King Edward himself.

and loyal subject to a sovereign to whom he owed the best possible education. For when he was only twenty-one the king had sent him to Italy, and he had spent some years at Padua, where he formed lifelong friendships with the best scholars of the day. But he did not like the king's efforts to procure a divorce, and his pretence (though not untrue) of a desire for further study at Paris was really prompted by a still greater desire not to be implicated in the king's proceedings with regard to Katharine. It was an unpleasant surprise to him, therefore, to be asked soon afterwards to obtain opinions on that very matter from the divines at that university —a task from which he found it in vain to excuse himself. He did what was required of him,—obtained opinions in Paris in the king's favour, though it was against the grain. And the king, when he returned to England, hoping to use him for his own purposes further, kept open for him, after Wolsey's death, the rich bishoprics of Winchester and York, trusting that he would be persuaded to accept one or other of them and approve of the divorce. He, however, gave his opinion to the king in writing unfavourable to the divorce, and the two bishoprics, after being ten months vacant, were filled up in 1531, the king's secretary, Gardiner, being promoted to Winchester, and Edward Lee to York.

Not much was done, however, either at home or abroad, in this matter of the universities until the year 1530; and we must first pay attention to the legislation of the Parliament of 1529. The House of Commons in those days was usually filled with nominees of the Crown; and this House had been packed with very special care. The fact was notorious, and the object is pretty clearly indicated by the chronicler Fabyan, who calls it "a parliament for enormities of the clergy." In secular matters it showed its servility by releasing the king from the obligation of his own most solemn assurances to repay a cruelly extorted loan. But its leading measures showed a distinct design to cripple the resources of the Church and destroy its independence by restrictions hitherto unknown.

Complaints against the clergy.

As we are told by Hall, the Commons proposed a number of grievances against the spiritual body, mainly for the excessive fees they levied, for the use of various processes, and for exactions such as Hunne had

vainly attempted to dispute. One of the chief complaints was of the fines taken for probate of wills, Sir Henry Guildford, controller of the king's household, declaring that he had paid 1000 marks to the cardinal and Archbishop Warham for probate of the will of Sir William Compton. Another complaint was that priests, acting as surveyors and stewards to bishops and abbots, occupied farms which poor husbandmen could not get except of them. Another was that abbots and priors kept tanhouses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and merchandise. Lastly, non-residence and pluralities were great and crying abuses.

These were things which, as Hall observes, "before this time might in no wise be touched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heretic or lose all that he had, for the bishops were chancellors and had all the rule about the king." The welcome change was, of course, due to other persons now having "the rule about the king"; but how far "poor husbandmen," or anybody else, were greatly the better for it we may judge by the story of after-days. Of course, fees may have been excessive, and pluralities and non-residence may have been too common; but that spiritual men engrossed farms could only have been due to their superior capacity for managing property; and that abbots should have kept tanhouses and sold wool is not wonderful when we consider that it was the monasteries which had from time immemorial led the way in developing the resources of the country. As to fees on probates, they had been complained of as excessive even in Edward III.'s time. But the bishops then only received notice to amend them, with a warning that otherwise the matter would be inquired into; now the State had taken upon itself to regulate such fees without consulting the Church. And though this may have been a step in a right direction, the spirit of the whole legislation was bad, and was clearly intended to punish the only power in the land which could be trusted to denounce wrong in high places with something like authority.

We need not therefore take Hall's view of the matter when he tells us that the bishops generally, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in particular, "both frowned and grunted" at the bill concerning probates in the House of Lords, because it

"touched their profit." It did no doubt impair the profits of the See of Canterbury, but it was not felt as a personal matter even by Archbishop Warham; still less by the honest and outspoken Bishop Fisher, whose words in addressing the Chamber the chronicler goes on to quote: "My lords," he said, "you see daily what bills come hither from the Common House, and all is to the destruction of the Church. For God's sake, see what a realm the kingdom of Boheme was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom. Now with the Commons is nothing but 'Down with the Church'; and all this, meseemeth, is for lack of faith only." The words were reported in the House of Commons, and some members —not, one would think, without a little prompting—made it a grievance that their doings were said to be for lack of faith, as if the bishop esteemed them heretics. The Speaker, Thomas Audeley, laid their complaint before the king at York Place, declaring it an insult to the chosen representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, and dishonourable to the king and realm besides, that the laws they made for the commonwealth should be spoken of in such an assembly as if made by Turks or Infidels. The king was not sorry to have an opportunity of calling the bishops before him, and compelling Bishop Fisher especially to explain the words that he had used.

Fisher's remonstrance in the House of Lords.

While the Parliament was sitting in England the pope and Charles V. met at Bologna, where they continued together till March, and where in February the latter received the imperial crown at the hands of the former. The meeting did not augur well for the divorce, for the emperor was naturally committed to the cause of his aunt, the Queen of England; and Anne Boleyn's father, Viscount Rochford, who was now raised a step in the peerage as Earl of Wiltshire, was sent in January on a mission to the emperor to set before him the very conscientious reasons which compelled the king to seek a release from his existing marriage tie. Of course his efforts in this were not convincing; but his mission had one result which does not seem to have been anticipated. A formal citation of Henry to appear at Rome had been drawn up some time before by Simonetta, auditor of the Rota, but no

one dared to serve it in England. Now, at the suggestion of the emperor's ministers, it was served on the King of England's representative, which was just as effective, and one great obstacle to the hearing of the cause at Rome was removed. In vain, after the emperor's departure, did Wiltshire urge the pope to withdraw the citation. The pope, after referring to the emperor, only agreed to a delay of six weeks.

The king cited to Rome.

Early in 1530 the work was seriously begun of getting opinions at Cambridge and at Oxford, in France and in Italy, as to the nullity of marriage with a deceased brother's wife. The way was prepared at Cambridge by the zealous envoys, Gardiner and Foxe, whom the king had lately sent to Italy. Both of them were Cambridge men, the latter provost of King's College. Cranmer also had written a book in favour of the king's divorce, which had been largely circulated there to influence opinion. Gardiner went to Cambridge with the king's letters and deftly managed the affair with the aid of the vice-chancellor, by getting one or two opponents of the king's purpose to leave the senate-house. The example of Cambridge was then held up to Oxford with a little royal bullying, and a decree favourable to the king was obtained from that university also on April 4. For the French universities Henry could rely on the friendship of Francis I., and by some manipulation opinions were obtained even from the Sorbonne, as well as other learned bodies in France, against the dispensing power of the pope in the case of marriage with a brother's widow. As for Italy, Richard Croke was commissioned to search the libraries of Venice, Padua, and Bologna for authorities in support of the king's views, and Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, had a full commission to hire doctors as advocates. The final result as regards foreign universities was that within six months and a few days favourable opinions were obtained from those of Orleans, Paris (the two faculties of canon lawyers and divines pronouncing separately), Angers, Bourges, Bologna, Padua, and Toulouse. No attempt was made to obtain opinions from the emperor's countries.

The king's cause at the universities.

While the king was thus fortifying himself with learned

opinions abroad, he held a council in May 1530 with his bishops at home on a subject about which they had been much disturbed—the great increase of heretical books, especially of Tyndale's New Testament, imported from abroad. The printing press was now teeming with this and other works of a heretical character, many of them gross libels upon the clergy, sometimes put forward as having been printed beyond sea when they were really printed in London. To allow free circulation of such matter, and to let it be freely answered, or answer itself, was not the policy of those days. It was the function of the Church to denounce error, and of the State to prevent mischief spreading; and while a list of prohibited books was proclaimed, it was also ordered in May that all officers of the Crown and persons in any authority on taking office should make oath to extirpate heresy and assist the bishops in suppressing it. At the same time there was a further burning of New Testaments at St. Paul's Churchyard. But to prevent the evil of false translations in future the king enjoined the bishops to cause a new translation to be prepared with the aid of the best scholars at the universities. A laudable object, no doubt, but it required time; and what were people thinking even now of the Defender of the Faith? Just ten days before this proclamation, Nix, Bishop of Norwich, writing apparently to the Duke of Norfolk, says that he has done his utmost to suppress erroneous books in his diocese, but it was beyond his power, and many said openly that the king really favoured their circulation. Indeed, there were heretics so bold as to say that before Michaelmas Day their opinions would be upheld by authority. There was indeed something brewing that may have given rise to this anticipation.

Tyndale's Testament and heretical books.

The king now made one desperate effort to procure a papal judgment in his favour. He called the leading noblemen to his court in June, and, by solicitations addressed to each of them separately, got them to sign a joint letter to the pope, declaring that the king's divorce was a matter of high necessity in the interests of the kingdom; and as the unlawfulness of his marriage had been declared by a number of the most famous

The letter of the English nobles to the pope.

universities, they must urge him to grant the requisite sentence, otherwise the king and his people might be driven to other means of redress, even if it should lead to the assembling of a general council. Not only was this address signed by the noblemen summoned to court, but it was sent down into the country for signature by others, and among the rest it was signed by the fallen cardinal, Wolsey, at Southwell. It was despatched on July 13, and received a dignified reply from Clement on September 27.

The next step taken by the king was even more extraordinary. We have seen that Wolsey, when proceedings were taken against him for a *præmunire* in the King's Bench, thought it politic to confess the charge against him. His usher, Cavendish, told him afterwards that he had been unable to answer friends who had inquired of him why he had not stood up in his own defence, as everybody considered the accusation unjust. The cardinal said he was induced to do so because his enemies had made it the king's case; and that when the king had been encouraged to seize all his goods and possessions, there was no doubt that, rather than accept a defeat in law and make him restitution, Henry, urged by "the night crow" (as he called Anne Boleyn), would devise his utter ruin; whereas his submission, he believed, had made the king somewhat relent in his severity towards him. In truth, the *præmunire* against Wolsey was a piece of gross injustice, for it implied that he had procured bulls from Rome without the king's consent—a thing absolutely inconceivable, and in fact against all evidence. But now that the offence had been confessed by Wolsey himself, what followed? His legatine jurisdiction, it appeared, had been a usurpation all along, and the clergy were in a *præmunire* also for having submitted to it! This was a curious discovery, especially after the king himself had been at so much pains to invite another legate into his kingdom and appear before a legatine court himself on summons. But it was unconstitutional to reproach the king with his own acts; it was for his subjects to suffer the penalty.

The clergy involved in a *præmunire*.

Notice of proceedings in this matter had been given by the beginning of August, but apparently no positive steps had been taken for some time. On January 16, 1531,

Parliament met again after prorogation, and five days later the Convocation of Canterbury did the same. The chosen scene of the deliberations of the latter body was the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, and the great question before them was whether they could compound with the king for their alleged offence. It had been proposed to give him a subsidy of £40,000, but they were made to understand they must increase the grant to two and a-half times as much to secure their pardon. On this the vote was raised to £100,044 : 8 : 4, and so passed both Houses on January 24, with a preamble stating that it was granted in consideration of the king's great services against heretics, without a word about the threat by which it was really extorted. The clergy only expressed gratitude to the king for saving them from hypocritical agitations against Church property which might, as they put it, have compromised the peace of the kingdom and the power of the civil ruler himself. Yet it was believed that to levy so large a sum would compel them to sell chalices and reliquaries. There was no help for it, however; the king's greed must be satisfied, and the money was voted. Nevertheless, on February 7, Henry notified to them that he declined to accept the gift without the insertion of certain clauses in the preamble, the most important of which acknowledged him as "Protector and Supreme Head of the English Church and Clergy," while another insinuated that he had the cure of his subjects' souls committed to him, and a third expressly mentioned what they had so studiously ignored—a general pardon for their transgressions of penal statutes. These things were bitter pills. The Upper House took the royal message into consideration, and for three whole sittings debated the unaccustomed title of Protector and Supreme Head without coming to any agreement. The judges and councillors sent to them said they had no commission to conclude about the general pardon for the *præmunire* till that title was acknowledged; but the intimation produced no effect. The king then sent them by Anne Boleyn's brother, Viscount Rochford, another message allowing them to modify the title by the insertion of the words *post Deum* after *Supremum Caput*, and refusing to discuss the matter further. Even this form, however, was not accepted, but in place of it Archbishop Warham, on February 11,

suggested the words — "of the Church and Clergy of England, whose especial Protector, single and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even Supreme Head we acknowledge his Majesty to be." And when this was proposed not a word seems to have been said to second it. The situation was evidently growing painful, but the archbishop found a way out of it. "Whoever is silent," he said, "seems to consent." "Then we are all silent," one voice replied; and thus the clause passed the Upper House, and was agreed to by the Lower. With this the king had to be content; and perhaps it was due to some negotiation that the grant was ultimately made a round sum of £100,000, payable in five yearly instalments, the last to be paid in Michaelmas 1535. Convocation modified other articles also, correcting, among other things, the statement that the cure of the souls of his subjects was committed to his Majesty. But the acknowledgment they had made, even in that modified form, of the king's supremacy, was a thing that for some time they regretted more and more, and they even urged that it should be retracted in Parliament, otherwise, they said, they would not pay a penny of the hundred thousand pounds voted—a threat which, of course, was futile, though it led to disturbances later.

The recognition of supremacy.

The Convocation of York was then asked to follow the example of the southern province, and ultimately did so; but not without a protest from Tunstall, now Bishop of Durham, against the title as admitted by the southern clergy. He and Kite, Bishop of Carlisle, were at this time the only bishops in the northern province, for Wolsey had died in November of the past year; and Tunstall's voice was far the more weighty of the two—so weighty that the king himself wrote to him in answer to his protest, for which Tunstall had respectfully declared to him his reasons in a letter from York of May 6. The York Convocation also bought their pardon from the *præmunire* for the sum of £18,840 : 0 : 10. But protests were sent to the king from both Convocations in May against the new kind of sovereignty he was endeavouring to establish over them.

The pardon for the province of Canterbury was confirmed in Parliament, as that of York was also the year after. But

when the bill was read in the Commons it provoked not a little opposition—not from any illwill to the clergy, but from a feeling that the laity who had had anything to do with Wolsey were liable to the very same treatment. In their alarm they sent a deputation to the king, who at first would not hear of any interference with his prerogative. After a while, however, he evidently felt the situation to be dangerous, and granted them a free pardon under his great seal. So the difference between the clergy and the laity in the end was that the latter obtained gratuitously what the former had to buy at an extortionate price. It was the clergy whom Henry was most anxious to bring into complete subjection.

Parliament was kept sitting from the middle of January to the end of March. It was the same Parliament that had met on Wolsey's fall, and it was destined to be continued by different prorogations till it had nearly reached what is now the statutory limit of a parliament's existence—seven full years. Its members had no idea at the first that their services could be required so long, and even now they felt it very inconvenient—all the more so that in this session there seemed no very great business for which they were kept sitting. During February everybody was tired of it, and many got leave of absence, which was very readily granted to those who favoured the queen. On the last day of the month the king visited the House of Lords, and stayed there nearly two hours directing their lordships' attention, among other matters, to the abuse of sanctuaries, which it was desirable to restrict, and also to an extraordinary crime which had just been committed in the Bishop of Rochester's household, and certainly deserved the strictest investigation and punishment.

It appeared that two servants had died and most of the others had been very ill from eating a certain pottage, of which, happily, the bishop himself had not partaken.

Bishop Fisher's cook.

The bishop's brother caused the cook to be apprehended, and apparently a confession was obtained from him that he had thrown in a powder, the effects of which he had not expected to be fatal. However this might be, either he or some one else had clearly been guilty of deliberate poisoning; and it was only too well known that the

bishop was in ill favour, not only with the king, but with Anne Boleyn and her friends. That the king himself was in any way responsible for the crime is exceedingly improbable; but it so clearly brought the court into suspicion, that he was anxious to show his indignation in the strongest possible fashion; and Parliament, at his instigation, passed a law against poisoning of awful severity, which was to have an *ex post facto* reference to this particular case as well as to future ones. The poisoner under this statute was to be boiled to death in a caldron; and the hideous penalty was actually inflicted shortly afterwards in Smithfield.

Sir Thomas More as chancellor.

On March 30, the day before the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, as chancellor, had a duty imposed on him by the king which must have been no less unwelcome to him than it was at variance with an express understanding on which he had taken office. For when he was appointed chancellor, the friends of Queen Katharine were for the time put in good heart. It was still believed by many that the king would not pursue his divorce any farther, and it was only on being assured that his services would not be used in promoting such an object that More consented to accept the great seal at all. Now, however, he was made an instrument in the matter against his will. Along with twelve members of the House of Lords, spiritual and temporal, he visited the House of Commons, and informed that assembly that the king, on account of the doubts which had been raised about his marriage, had sought opinions from the chief universities of Christendom, which the Bishop of London would lay before them. A book containing twelve of those procured from foreign universities was then read by Brian Tuke. Afterwards above a hundred other opinions from foreign countries, if we may trust Hall, were shown, but not read for lack of time, and the chancellor informed the Commons that after the prorogation next day they were to report these things in the districts from which they came. The matter, of course, had been previously declared in the House of Lords, where the Bishops of Lincoln and London (Longland and Stokesley) had nearly spoiled the business by their readiness to argue in the king's behalf. For the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bath (Standish and Clerk) protested that that House was not the

place to discuss the question; but Norfolk interfered and said the king had not sent the documents to be discussed, but only to declare the motives by which he had been influenced. On this some one asked the chancellor the trying question what his own opinion of the case was. He replied that he had frequently given it to the king himself, and would say no more.

Deputation to Queen Katharine.

On May 31, by the king's order, a great deputation of lords and bishops visited the queen, and represented to her that the king was much displeased; that, owing to the course she had pursued, he had been cited to appear personally at Rome—a thing quite incompatible with his position and dignity; and that she ought to agree that judges should be chosen by mutual consent who were above suspicion. Although taken by surprise, and without legal advice at hand (it was evening, and she was about to have retired to rest), she answered wisely and with dignity even when Bishop Longland and Dr. Edward Lee (who was soon after made Archbishop of York) pressed her with arguments which were both indecent and insulting. She told Sampson, Dean of the Chapel, that she ought not to be accused of precipitation in desiring a definitive sentence in a matter which had cost her so many days and nights of misery; and the deputation retired completely baffled, Dr. Lee declaring that all the king had done hitherto went for nothing. At this time the king and queen had not yet completely parted company, but were in the habit of visiting each other every three days. They were at Windsor after Whitsuntide, and remained there till July 14. But on that day the king removed to Woodstock without bidding her good-bye. Grieved at this, and being told she was not to follow him, she sent him a few days later a message of mild complaints; to which he sent back a rude answer, that he was angry with her obstinacy in refusing his reasonable proposal after she had caused him to be cited to Rome.

In October Dr. Lee, now Archbishop-elect of York, with the Earl of Sussex, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and Dr. Sampson, were again sent to her, to suggest some amicable arrangement between her and Henry; but she replied gently and firmly, that it was more necessary now than ever that the cause

should be decided at Rome. It was, indeed, only from Rome that she could expect justice; for though her cause was undoubtedly popular in England, her supporters could do nothing, and she was practically friendless.

Tumult at St. Paul's.

Just before this, on September 1, a disturbance took place at St. Paul's, where Bishop Stokesley had asked the London clergy to meet him for the purpose of being assessed to the extortionate subsidy conceded by Convocation. His plan was to take six or eight priests at a time into the chapter-house and try personal persuasions with each group to grant as large a sum as possible. But when a few were called in, many pushed in along with them, and when the door was shut those outside insisted on admission to know what was done with the others. In this they were encouraged by laymen, who warmly took their part. So the door was forced open, and the bishop, whose officer received a blow on the face in the struggle, was obliged to address a larger assembly than he had intended. The bishop urged each to bear his part, though the burden was a heavy one. "My lord," said one in reply, "twenty nobles a year is but a bare living for a priest, now victual and everything is so dear, and poverty enforceth us to say nay. Besides, we never offended in the *præmunire*, for we meddled never with the cardinal's faculties. Let the bishops and abbots who have offended pay." This led to high words and some buffeting, for which some priests and laymen, being brought before the lord mayor, were committed to the Tower, the Fleet, and other prisons.

Next year (1532) Parliament again assembled in January, and its services were soon made use of in pressing the clergy still further. On February 24, Archbishop Warham felt it his duty to make a formal protest against all the enactments made in this Parliament since its opening in November 1529 in derogation of the pope's authority or of the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the province of Canterbury. The legislature was perhaps even then discussing measures, in which Chapuys reports that they were engaged in the beginning of March, subversive of episcopal authority altogether. But their suggestions by and by took the form of a supplication or complaint against the bishops, of which

drafts remain, with corrections, in the handwriting of Thomas Cromwell, showing clearly that it really emanated from the court. It began by saying that much discord and illwill had of late arisen between the king's subjects, spiritual and temporal, owing on the one side to new and fantastic opinions, and on the other to the severity and uncharitable behaviour "of divers ordinaries, their commissaries and substitutes," in the examination of those errors and heretical opinions; and it went on to say that by these differences the peace of the realm was threatened. The causes of this were, first, that the clergy in Convocation made laws and constitutions without the consent either of the king or of the laity, yet the laity were constrained to obey under censures, though the said laws had never been declared to them in the English tongue. Second, some changes recently made by Archbishop Warham had placed the business of the Courts of Arches and Audience entirely in the hands of ten proctors, so that suitors could not have indifferent counsel, and matters that touched the Crown were concealed by the proctors for fear of losing their offices—an abuse that might be corrected if a certain number of proctors were nominated by the king. Third, poor people were convented before the ordinaries *ex officio*, sometimes for malice, sometimes at the mere caprice of "sumners" and apparitors, and put to trouble and expense without warning, and without redress even when absolved. Nine other causes also were capitulated: mainly, excessive fees in spiritual courts or for spiritual functions, delays in probates, provisions of minors to benefices, the excessive number of holidays (which the king, it was suggested, might correct by an order in council), and vexatious examinations for heresy.

Supplication against the clergy.

Besides the fact already pointed out, that this document really emanated from the court, and was virtually a petition to the king drafted under the king's own eye, it is important to note that it represents the illwill between the clergy and the laity to be a thing of recent origin. Towards the close, especially, it is specifically stated that "there is at this present time, and *by a few years past has been*, outrageous violence on the one part, and much default and lack of patient sufferance, charity, and goodwill on the other part." The

same fact comes out in another quarter, and it deserves something more than the passing notice that it must receive here. For it was certainly about this time—probably in this very year 1532—that the lawyer, Christopher St. German, published anonymously his "treatise concerning the division between the spiritualty and temporalty," which was clearly inspired by the very same influences as this bill in Parliament. Sir Thomas More answered it in his *Apology* published next year (1533), in which he speaks of the author as "the Pacifier," and denies that the state of feeling between clergy and laity was by any means so acute as he represented, or even of very old standing, for it only dated from the publication of the books of Tyndale, Frith, and Friar Barnes—that is to say, it was the growth of about five years of agitation. It did not seem, moreover, that "the Pacifier" was really anxious to allay this agitation, any more than the framers of the bill in Parliament were.

That some of the grievances were plausible, and some perhaps not altogether theoretical, may be assumed almost as a matter of course; but the main object of the bill was obviously to suggest that there were matters connected with spiritual administration which the clergy could not be trusted, as they hitherto had been, to reform themselves, and which, therefore, the king must take into his hands. Convocation was at that very time shaping measures for the reformation of a large number of abuses; but its action was paralysed by this very bill, and none of the proposed ordinances ever became legal canons.

This supplication having been approved by the Commons, it was agreed to present it to the king, as, no doubt, was intended; for it was not a legislative measure to go up to the House of Lords. On March 18 the Speaker and a deputation of other members were admitted to the king's presence, and laid it before him, beseeching him at the same time to consider the great inconvenience and costs they had incurred by their long attendance in this Parliament, from which they hoped he would relieve them by a dissolution and enable them to repair to their several homes in the country. The very fact that they could make such a petition just after presenting their bill of

The Commons weary of attendance.

grievances against the spiritualty showed how unreal their complaint was; and the king, while keeping up the farce, could not but point out the inconsistency of their requests. First, he said that their bill of grievances contained weighty matter, to which, as an impartial judge, he must not give light credence without hearing what the clergy had to say in answer; and they must stay to learn the result. Moreover, he had sent them a bill concerning wardships which had already passed the Lords, and which he hoped they would pass likewise, its object being to guard the Crown against a great loss of feudal dues on the succession of heirs, which resulted from the device called feoffments to uses. But these dues were to the Commons a much more serious grievance than any that they had against the spiritualty, and they declined to pass this bill, even to please the king.

Parliament soon after adjourned for Easter till April 10; but in the meanwhile it passed, under very considerable pressure, an Act against the payment of *annates* (or first-fruits on benefices) to Rome. It has been strangely imagined that this measure was framed by the clergy, as if they complained of payments incident to their own promotions. Even in the House of Lords it met with opposition from others besides the bishops and the abbots; but in the Commons the very members who had been chosen at the king's pleasure offered a stout resistance, and they only agreed to pass it ultimately on the understanding that it was not to take effect for a year, during which time some arrangement might be made with the pope. Yet the pope's nuncio then in England was solemnly assured by the Duke of Norfolk that the king had been obliged to pass it to satisfy the Commons, who had proposed other measures against the Holy See, and that it was still in the king's power to secure payment to the pope of his old accustomed dues if he and his Holiness could come to a proper understanding with each other.

Act withholding payment of annates to Rome.

On the reassembling of Parliament the lord chancellor with a number of the leading peers visited the House of Commons, and informed them that it had been found necessary to fortify the Borders against Scotland, and for this the king required an aid in money. The demand was not at all agree-

able, and one of the members named Temse even ventured to say that there was no danger from the Scots, as they could do no harm without foreign aid, and that the king should be petitioned to take back his wife and treat her well, as the emperor, who would not abandon the cause of his aunt, could do them far more mischief than any other power. Moreover, to bastardise the Princess Mary might have very serious results for the nation. Temse's motion appears to have been seconded, and carried with general applause, so that the question of the aid was for a while deferred.

On April 12 Archbishop Warham laid before Convocation the supplication of the Commons, saying that he thought it desirable that their complaints should be answered; and, as the Lower House was informed that the king expected a speedy reply, it was delivered to the prolocutor for their consideration. At the next sitting, on Monday the 15th, two draft replies to the preamble and parts of the first article were read in the Upper House by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and were unanimously approved. On the 19th the Lower House also agreed to them, and the archbishop ordered the whole reply to be written fair for presentation to the king. But it seems there were still some points requiring communication between the two Houses, and the presentation did not actually take place till about three days before the end of the month. The reply was drawn up in the name of the ordinaries, as it was they who were put on their defence; and it was certainly frank and clear. They denied that there was any general want of charity among themselves towards the laity, though among a large body there might be ill-ruled persons. As to heretics, they had only done their duty in punishing such persons. Their power of making laws for themselves could not be a grievance to the community, for it was founded "upon the Scripture of God and the determination of Holy Church"—the principles by which all laws, spiritual and temporal, must be tested—and they were always ready to reform such statutes as did not agree with them. In fulfilment of a high trust committed to them by God, they were not at liberty to submit their canons to the king's assent; but they humbly besought him from henceforth to declare to them his mind on any subject, and they promised to do their

The answer of the ordinaries.

best to follow it if it pleased God so to inspire them. The king, they were sure, would acquit them of encroaching on his prerogative, whatever less learned persons might say. And as regards the other grievances they replied *seriatim*, though this latter part of the answer does not appear to have been inscribed on the records of Convocation.

This "Answer of the Ordinaries," as it is commonly called, was presented to the king, who on April 30 sent for Speaker Audeley and a deputation of the Commons, and delivered it to them for consideration. "We think," he said, "their answer will smally please you, for it seemeth to us very slender. You be a great sort of wise men. I doubt not but you will look circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent between you." Of course the Commons must have understood pretty well what this professed impartiality meant, and we may presume that in this matter they were not unwilling to fulfil the king's expectations. But before dismissing them the king had another thing to tell them. He was very much surprised, he said, to hear that one of their House had ventured to speak of his having parted company with the queen. Questions of matrimony were not for the House of Commons, and what he had done was for purely conscientious reasons, after consulting "the doctors of the universities." Moreover, he was forty-one years old, and was not likely at that age to be moved to such a thing by mere lust. So the Speaker departed, and conveyed his Majesty's observations on both these subjects to the House.

The king's pretended impartiality.

It was clear that Henry was not to be diverted from his persistent aim by evidence of its unpopularity. Even before the suggestion made in the House of Commons that he should take back his queen he had received a still more significant warning. On Easter Day, March 31, William Peto, the provincial of the Grey Friars, preached before him at Greenwich. The convent of the Grey Friars at Greenwich belonged to the stricter division of the order called the Observants, who stood in high esteem with every one. The preacher strongly warned the king in his sermon of the danger in which princes stood from evil counsellors and sycophants. After the sermon the king called him to a

Friar Peto's sermon.

private interview; but Peto only warned him the more strongly that he was endangering his crown by seeking to discredit his marriage. Henry concealed his displeasure, and gave him leave to go on a call of duty to Canterbury; but, as soon as he had left, got a chaplain of his own, Dr. Richard Curwen, to preach in the same place and contradict what Peto had said. Curwen waxed bold in the part assigned him, and said he only wished Peto were there to answer him; on which Henry Elstowe, the warden of the convent, rose and said he would answer for his superior, denouncing Curwen to his face as one of a company like Ahab's lying prophets. Of course this made matters worse than ever for the king, who, on Peto's return, insisted, but insisted vainly, that he ought to deprive the warden and make him recant what he had said. A courtier also threatened Elstowe, telling him that for such conduct he deserved to be put in a sack and drowned in the Thames. "These threats are for courtiers," replied the friar; "the way to heaven is open as well by water as by land."

It does not appear what further action was taken by the Commons as to the reply of the ordinaries after the king had hinted that it would hardly satisfy them. The intimation that the king himself was not satisfied induced Convocation to make a further reply to him. They understood that he chiefly took exception to the part in which they claimed the right of making laws for themselves without the royal assent. As to this they rested simply on the determinations of the Church, accepted throughout all Christendom, that the prelates, having a spiritual jurisdiction, had power to make laws without the consent of any temporal power; and showed that hitherto Christian princes had felt themselves bound to suffer it. Moreover, it was founded on Scripture, and had been defended by the king himself in his book against Luther. Nevertheless, considering the king's wisdom, learning, and goodness, they were willing to forbear from further legislation without his consent, unless it were for the maintenance of the faith. As to past laws, if there were any not in use and not affecting the faith or the correction of sin, they were ready to revoke them when they should be pointed out.

Second answer of the clergy.

This dignified concession did not satisfy the king, and he

was disappointed to find that the answer was mainly the work of Gardiner, whom he had so lately made a bishop. Gardiner was ill in body and distressed at the king's displeasure, but he stood his ground, expressing in a very respectful letter, slightly tinged with irony, the hope that as one unlearned in divinity he had not gone very far wrong in following a large number of weighty authorities, including the king himself when he wrote against Luther. This second answer, however, contained a real concession, and the king was determined to wring from the clergy a still more complete submission.

It would seem to have been on May 8 that this reply of the clergy to the king was agreed to. That morning, while the subject was under consideration, the Bishop of London, who presided for the day in the archbishop's room, informed both Houses that he had been notified by the Duke of Norfolk that the Commons had voted the king a fifteenth, payable in two years, and he hoped that the clergy would show themselves no less willing to aid the king. The demand was cruel after they had conceded so much already. But the liberties of the Church were the matter that Convocation was most concerned about now, and at the request of the Lower House certain bishops and divines were appointed as a deputation to wait upon the king and report to him how seriously these were already compromised by the action of the Parliament. On May 10, Foxe, who was one of the deputation, brought in a set of three articles proposed by the king for their acceptance, requiring a complete sacrifice of their independence as regards the power of making ordinances. And to quicken their determination the king applied next day to the House of Commons.

That day, May 11, he sent again for the Speaker and twelve other members, whom he addressed, as reported, in these words: "Well-beloved subjects, we thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly; but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects—yea, and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope clean contrary to the oath they make to us so that they seem his subjects and not ours." In proof of which he delivered to them a copy of each of the oaths,

The king complains that the clergy are but half his subjects.

and desired them to take some order that he might not be deluded by his spiritual subjects.

That so wise and able a king could have reigned full three-and-twenty years without discovering, what none of his predecessors had done, that the oath which bishops and abbots took to the pope was incompatible with that which they took to himself, was surely not a little remarkable. For if there was even a hint of incongruity in the two oaths themselves, it was merely that the new-made prelate, on recovering from the king the temporalities of his See, expressly renounced the benefit of any grants that he might have from Rome if they should be found injurious to the king, with whom he promised to live and die as a loyal subject. Henry knew as well as any man that the two oaths did not constitute an incompatibility of duties unless there was a "right divine of kings to govern wrong." But it was precisely this right that he was intent on vindicating.

On the king's demands being brought in by Foxe, the archbishop adjourned the Convocation to St. Katharine's Chapel, still within the Abbey, no doubt for greater privacy, and there the paper was read over again. They then adjourned till Monday the 13th, to meet in the chapter-house, conferences being held meanwhile as to the course of action to be pursued with the aged Bishop of Rochester by a deputation which visited him at his house. On the 13th the three articles presented to them on the king's part were admitted with some limitation; after which the Houses again adjourned till Wednesday the 15th. On that day the archbishop received a writ from the king to prorogue the Convocation till November 5, and a number of lay peers came in, but retired after some private communication with the archbishop. The prolocutor then brought up from the Lower House a report of the members who agreed, dissented, or would have delayed answering the proposed three articles. Then the archbishop said he awaited an answer from the king by the lay lords, who presently were again admitted, and, after communicating with the bishops, again retired. Then in an after-dinner sitting certain bishops brought in and read the paper that came from the king, and the bishops were asked to consent to it without any limitation. All agreed

except Clerk, Bishop of Bath, and it was sent down to the Lower House to be despatched.

The writ of prorogation was then read, and next day, May 16, the archbishop delivered to the king the formal document known in history as "the Submission of the Clergy." By this they promised, first of all, henceforth to enact no new canons, constitutions provincial, or ordinances provincial or synodal without the king's licence; secondly, to submit it to the examination of the king and of thirty-two persons, sixteen of whom should be of the temporalty of the two Houses of Parliament, and sixteen of the clergy, all to be chosen by the king, whether any of their past constitutions and ordinances were against God's laws and those of the realm, and if found so by the majority, that they should be abolished; and thirdly, that laws which the majority of those thirty-two persons approved as consistent with God's laws and those of the realm, should receive the king's assent and continue in full force. The preamble of the document says that the clergy make this concession out of confidence in the king's "excellent wisdom, princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding in our judgment the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of." The words savour, no doubt, of flattery, but they also supply a hint of that limitation vaguely mentioned in the register, for which, even at the last moment, the clergy contended in vain. Though it was a forced surrender of their old acknowledged rights, they threw the responsibility on a really wise and learned king, and further, as is more distinctly shown by the wording of another draft, cherished the vain hope that in future reigns they would recover their lost position.

Submission of the clergy.

On that same 16th May Sir Thomas More surrendered the great seal. After repeated and earnest requests to the king to be relieved of the office of lord chancellor, his resignation was at length accepted. He had all along disliked the king's policy, and for more than a twelvemonth afterwards he was busy in answering heretics like Tyndale and Frith, and endeavouring to protect the clergy from those accusations which were now so freely uttered against them with encouragement from high quarters. In

More resigns the chancellorship.

order to supply his place, Thomas Audeley, Speaker of the House of Commons, was appointed, not at first chancellor, but keeper of the great seal, and knighted for greater dignity. In January following, however, the name and office of lord chancellor were conferred upon him, and he held them till his death in 1544.

AUTHORITIES.—Hall's *Chronicle; Letters and Papers* (Calendar) *of Henry VIII.* vols. iv. and v. For Reginald Pole see *Dictionary of National Biography*. For the citation served on the Earl of Wiltshire see Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, i. 107. For Tyndale see Demaus's *Life*. For Bishop Nix's letter to the Duke of Norfolk see Calendar, vol. iv. no. 6385. Rymer. The documents in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii., are important, especially the extracts from the proceedings of Convocation in 1531 and 1532, which are given at pp. 724-6, 742-4, 748-9; but see the same in Atterbury's *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation*, 2nd ed. 1701, Appendix, nos. iv.-vi., including vi. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*. There are differences more than verbal between the extracts in Wilkins and in Atterbury, which suggest that Heylin, from whose notes they were printed by Wilkins, occasionally abbreviated the text of the register in his own words. For the protest of the two Convocations see Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, i. 142. For the story of Bishop Fisher's cook see Statute 22, Hen. VIII. c. 16, and Chapuys, March 1, 1531, in Calendars (both English and Spanish). The Supplication of the Commons in 1531 and the Answer of the Ordinaries are printed in Froude's *History* (ed. 1875, i. 211-220), out of place in connection with the session of 1529; but the best text of both documents will be found in Gee and Hardy's *Documents illustrative of the History of the English Church* (nos. 46 and 47), where will also be found the Submission of the Clergy (no. 48) and the Act about Annates (no. 49). A document bearing on this subject has been printed by Strype (*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I. ii. 158, ed. 1832), and copied from him by Wilkins (iii. 760) with the erroneous heading, "An Address from the Convocation to the King for an Act to take away Annates." It was really a petition which Parliament was intended to adopt. The measures prepared by Convocation for the reform of abuses may be seen in Wilkins iii. 717 sq., where they are printed with an extraordinary footnote, assigning them to the year 1529 as the most probable date; and this on the evidence of the sixth article about heretics, although among other publications cited in that article is the Augsburg Confession of 1530. The error has been pointed out by Canon Dixon (*Hist. of the Church of England*, i. 87, note).

An anonymous Life of Fisher written a generation later, ed. by Van Ortroy, may be consulted with advantage on some points, though it contains errors which can be easily perceived. Harpsfield's *Treatise on the Pretended Divorce* (ed. for the Camden Society by Pocock) has also matter of importance. As to Sir Thomas More and the understanding on which he became chancellor, see Roper's Life of him, p. 60, and More's own statement (*Works*, p. 1427).

CHAPTER VIII

ROYAL SUPREMACY

Sir Thomas More had abundant reason for resigning the great seal. Seeing so clearly as he did the direction of the king's policy, his conscience would never have allowed him to keep it one day after he could obtain leave to give it up. But he was anxious to do more than keep his own hands unsoiled; for as early as March 1528, long before he was made lord chancellor, Tunstall, who was then Bishop of London, had urged him to use his pen in the defence of the faith, and given him an episcopal licence to keep and read Lutheran books, which were even then smuggled into England in considerable quantities, in order that he might confute their fallacies in plain simple English. The task was a congenial one to him; and he had already published three notable works in defence of the Church, all written in the intervals of leisure allowed by other duties, and one of them during the time he held the office of lord chancellor.

More writes against heresy;

The first of these, of which some account has already been given in reference to what it says about Hunne's case, appeared in 1529, and was called *The Dialogue.* In the form of a conversation professedly reported from memory, More here goes into a number of questions that were beginning to be discussed, such as freedom of opinion in religion, the value of images, pilgrimages, and prayers offered to saints, the credibility of miracles, the authority of the Church, and finally the errors and heresies contained in Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. The second,

called *The Supplication of Souls*, was written in 1529 in answer to a scurrilous and dishonest pamphlet entitled *A Supplication for the Beggars*. Like other heretical pamphlets, this had been printed abroad, the author, one Simon Fish, a lawyer, having escaped for a while beyond sea. Its object was to suggest a general confiscation of Church endowments that they might be applied to the relief of poverty. More's answer dwelt on the claims of souls in purgatory, for whom those endowments were instituted. The third treatise was a rejoinder to Tyndale, who had published in 1531, apparently at Amsterdam, an answer to his *Dialogue*, defending his translation of the New Testament against More's criticisms. It was issued in 1532 under the title, *A Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*.

It cannot be said that as controversies went on More's tone towards his antagonists improved. He no doubt felt that there were then powerful influences in the world tending to degrade the Church, destroy the faith—or such guarantees for the faith as were then thought necessary—and so demoralise the whole of society. For the king, as we have seen, while professing to be strictly orthodox, was really encouraging heresy underhand, not at all ill-pleased that heretics should give the Church some trouble while he himself was putting it in fetters. Of this there are other indications besides the statement in Bishop Nix's letter. St. German's book, though the author, it is true, professed to be a good Catholic, was evidently inspired by court influences; and if we may believe some anecdotes preserved by Foxe, the king was so much interested in Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars*, which he kept secretly in his desk, that he sent the author his signet as a protection against the lord chancellor (Sir Thomas More) and the Bishop of London. Nor are we left in doubt that he pursued such a course in other instances, of which we will here mention one or two. Dr. Robert Barnes had been abjured for heresy in England and had fled abroad, but came again into the realm with the king's safe-conduct, granted to him, as More tells us, "at his humble suit." It is true that More, writing while he was still lord chancellor in 1532, says the king's motive in granting it was "to the end that if there might yet

which the king secretly encourages.

Dr. Barnes.

any spark of grace be founden in him it might be kept kindled and increased, rather than the man to be cast away." But it may be suspected that Sir Thomas only puts an interpretation on the king's action which the king himself wished it to bear, and which Sir Thomas hoped he was honest in professing. For he goes on to remark that the king had been equally gracious to two other heretical exiles, Richard Bayfield and George Constantine, who returned to England even without a safe-conduct, trusting in the king's forgiveness, and, having obtained it, at once brought in more of Tyndale's heretical books. Nor is there a doubt that Dr. Barnes obtained his pardon, not in the hope of his return to orthodoxy (for he had been writing in support of Lutheranism in Germany), but in the hope that his heresies would make him a useful instrument to the king, who found very good employment for him without further recantation. In fact, it would appear from a despatch of the imperial ambassador, Chapuys, that it was not Barnes who really solicited the king's pardon, but the king who eagerly solicited his crossing over.

William Tyndale.

Another case was that of Tyndale, the arch-heretic, whose translation of the New Testament was denounced by royal authority itself in May 1530. Two years before that date Tyndale had published his chief original work, *The Obedience of a Christian Man;* and that this book, like Fish's *Supplication*, notwithstanding its heretical character, was secretly introduced to the king's notice and gave him real satisfaction we have quite satisfactory evidence. The story in the next generation was that he came to know it through Anne Boleyn, who had become interested in it when the lover of one of her maids nearly got into trouble by reading it; and that the king, on reading it himself, declared, "This book is for me and all kings to read." Coming from Henry the sentiment was not unnatural, for a more thoroughgoing treatise in favour of absolutism it would be difficult to find; moreover, it contained abuse of the clergy to Henry's heart's content. It showed that obedience was right from children to parents, from servants to masters, from subjects to kings. But a king was in this world without law; he might do right or wrong as he pleased, and was accountable only to God. Even an evil king was a great benefit to his realm,

On the other hand, the pope's authority was founded upon jugglery; cardinals and bishops had no right to obedience, and men might lawfully break any oaths they had made to them. Such were the main principles set forth in this treatise of Tyndale's. It removed positively the only restraint on despotism that men could see in that day. What wonder that the Church denounced as heretical a book so expressly composed in defence of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong"? On the other hand, it was clearly in the hope that such a writer would do him valuable service that Henry, not many months after his official denunciation of Tyndale's New Testament, was anxious to lure him over from abroad with a promise of a safe-conduct, while Lord Chancellor More was devoting all his leisure to a confutation of the exile's sophistries. Tyndale was afraid to come to England for fear of the lord chancellor; but the king himself was very anxious to give him, though not openly, full assurance of safety.

Matters, however, took a very different turn when the king, early in 1531, became acquainted with Tyndale's next work, *The Practice of Prelates*, published at Marburg in the year preceding; in which he not only severely criticised (and absurdly misrepresented) the general policy of Cardinal Wolsey, but laid on him and on Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, the blame of suggesting the divorce from Katharine of Aragon. The king was still pursuing that object; and though Tyndale certainly shared the general feeling of Englishmen that it was altogether iniquitous, his declaration to that effect rendered him quite unserviceable thenceforth for the purpose for which Henry had meant to use him. Moreover, he was a strong imperialist, and disliked the divorce all the more because it was an injury to the emperor's aunt. He declared Wolsey's wicked aim in promoting it to have been to marry the king to Francis I.'s sister Renée (Wolsey had really gone to France believing that to have been the king's purpose), and so to have made England French. But Henry, however willing he might be to see the burden of his own sins laid on the late cardinal's shoulders (who had often enough borne them while he lived), could not tolerate avowed opposition to the thing

He offends the king.

on which he had most set his heart, and from this time he was quite content that Tyndale should remain an exile.

Yet Tyndale had been so far persuaded of the king's favour that he had promised not to put his answer to Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue* in print till he had submitted it to Cromwell, to see if it gave satisfaction. And even after being convinced that Tyndale himself could be of no service to him, the king continued the same policy with Tyndale's ally, John Frith, whom he sought to win over from Holland to come to England again, if he would only renounce his friend's extreme opinions and keep his heresies within such bounds that they might be serviceable. In short, from the time of Wolsey's fall, the king was continually encouraging and trying to make use of heretics whose cause he did not openly advocate, merely that they might give the Church some trouble while he was pursuing an object of his own. The result, of course, was a very large increase in the number of heretics. Foxe gives a list of sixty persons compelled to abjure in the diocese of London between 1528 and 1532, with the articles objected to them; and he indicates that these cases are a mere selection, saying that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all that were driven from the realm, cast out of their houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration "in those bitter days before the coming of Queen Anne." The date thus indicated is certainly significant. It was with a view to the king's second marriage that heresy received so much indirect encouragement.

Abjurations by heretics.

Nevertheless, the number of abjurations during that period is undoubted evidence that the Church prevailed in her conflict in the great majority of cases without resorting to extreme measures. Of the number of burnings for heresy in England during those five years we cannot be perfectly assured; but considering how zealous Foxe was to obtain information on the subject, we may assume that the victims of whom he makes mention were nearly all who suffered. In that case hardly more than seven men in England were sent to the flames[1] during the five years just mentioned; and in

[1] Besides heretics burned, Foxe mentions three men hanged in chains for burning the Rood of Dovercourt—an exploit to which he says "they were

the next year, 1533, there were but two more. Moreover, the first instance occurs in 1530, so that the two first years of the period are a blank, and there is only one victim in the third. Then come six burnings in two years at a very critical time, and two the year after. Now let us see who these nine victims were, and for what cause or causes they suffered. Their names were Thomas Hitton, Thomas Bilney, Richard Bayfield, John Tewkesbury, Thomas Benet, James Bainham, Thomas Harding, John Frith, and Andrew Hewet.

Martyrdoms, alleged or real.

The first, Thomas Hitton, was a Norfolk man, burned at Maidstone as a heretic in 1530. He was one of Tyndale's secret agents in importing the forbidden New Testament—a priest who had thrown off his habit and had earned his living (he said) as a joiner beyond sea. On returning from a visit to England he was arrested at Gravesend on suspicion of having stolen some linen cloths from a hedge, and, being searched, letters were found on him from evangelical brethren at home, which he was to have delivered to heretics abroad. He was brought before Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher, when he refused to be sworn or to reveal to whom he had delivered the books he had previously brought in. After five different appearances he was delivered to the secular power and burned at Maidstone. Shortly afterwards he was exalted by Tyndale to the rank of a saint in a book of prayers, published abroad with a calendar before it, in which the day of his death—February 23—appeared as the day of "St. Thomas the Martyr." The world, however, was not convinced of his claim to such a title.

Bilney.

The second so-called martyr, though of greater renown, had not a much better claim to it. "Little Bilney," as he was called, though he converted his ghostly father, Latimer, to his views at Cambridge, recanted, relapsed again and prevaricated, before he was finally burned at Norwich in 1531; but just before his death it seems

moved by the Spirit of God,"—and also a kinsman of his own, John Randall, who, even from his account, evidently either was murdered, or hanged himself. And Alan Cope, soon after the publication of Foxe's book, had no difficulty in showing the latter to have been the case (*Dialogi Sex*, 550, ed. 1573). Various, indeed, were the human materials out of which Foxe manufactured martyrs!

perfectly clear (though Foxe will not believe it) that he again expressed abhorrence of the heresies he had maintained, and was reconciled to the Church once more. The third victim, Richard Bayfield, once a monk of Bury St. Edmund's, who had escaped beyond sea and brought back with him, for sale in England, a quantity of books of Luther and Œcolampadius, had abjured his heresies before the Bishop of Norwich, but had not afterwards fulfilled his penance or resumed his habit. Sentence was given against him as in a case of relapse by the Bishop of London in November 1531, and he was burned in Smithfield. The fourth, John Tewkesbury, was a leather-seller in London, much interested in Tyndale's New Testament and his book called *The Wicked Mammon*. He abjured and did penance in 1529, but afterwards repudiated his abjuration as done under compulsion. He was sentenced by the Bishop of London at Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, and was burned in Smithfield on December 20, 1531.

James Bainham, who had married the widow of Simon Fish, was the son of a knight of Gloucestershire — Sir Christopher Bainham, no doubt, whose name appears on commissions of the peace. By the interrogatories administered to him, it appears that he disbelieved in purgatory, and thought even Dr. Crome lied when he expressed his belief in that doctrine in a sermon; though Crome and Latimer were the only two preachers who ever, in his opinion, preached the word of God "sincerely," that is to say, without admixture of superstition. He considered that Holy Scripture had been unknown for eight hundred years past, and had only been plainly declared to the people within the last six years. He approved of all Tyndale's books, and kept them. Being brought, however, before the Bishop of London at Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, he was exhorted to submit himself to the Church, and did so. He did penance at St. Paul's, and was discharged from prison; but having afterwards revoked his submission, he was examined again, and was finally sentenced and burned.

Bainham.

Of this Bainham, Foxe tells us that Sir Thomas More caused him to be whipped at a tree in his garden, called the "Tree of Truth," and then sent to the Tower to be racked,

and that the torture was applied in Sir Thomas's own presence "till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would show where his books lay." An almost identical story was told by the martyrologist, in his first edition, as to More's treatment of Tewkesbury, but he had the grace to omit it in later editions. In this case the tree in More's garden was called "Jesus Tree"; the victim "was whipped and also twisted in his brows with small ropes, so that the blood started out of his eyes; and yet he would accuse no man." Afterwards he was "racked in the Tower till he was almost lame." It seems to be the same legend in both cases; and, suppressed as it was in the case of Tewkesbury, we may be sure that it was equally untrue in that of Bainham. Indeed, we might well suspect its falsehood from Foxe's own statement about Bainham's examination by the bishop at More's house at Chelsea, where we read:—"They asked him whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the Catholic Church, . . . adding, moreover, many fair enticing and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself, saying the time was yet that he might be received," etc. That is to say, both More and the Bishop of London endeavoured to win Bainham by gentle means wholly inconsistent with the alleged brutality. The story is, in fact, one of those malicious lies which began to be circulated about More even in his own days, and which More himself expressly denounces as such in one passage in his writings. But Foxe was above all things credulous, and accepted with little difficulty every idle tale to the discredit of the old religion.

Imputations of cruelty against More quite unfounded.

More was undoubtedly a great enemy to heretics, and he said so himself in the epitaph which he wrote for his own burial. He considered them dangerous to society, as indeed they were to the old framework of society in those days; and it is hard to deny that the break-up of that old framework after his death was extremely demoralising, first to the national life of England, and afterwards to the whole Christian life of Europe. But More gave effect to his enmity in methods strictly legitimate, and nothing that he ever did was tainted with inhumanity.

The charges, indeed, have been repeated again and again, though they rest on no better authority, after all, than the malice of some contemporaries, and the credulity of a very one-sided historian. But if they be accepted they destroy More's character, not for humanity alone, but for honesty and truthfulness as well. For we must not overlook his own very explicit statement in answer to these libels. He admits that in some cases of murder or sacrilege, arising apparently out of heretical conspiracies, he had caused the keepers of the Marshalsea and other prisons to elicit information by methods which could do the prisoners no permanent hurt. He admits also that he had twice caused corporal punishment to be used towards heretics—once to a boy in his own service, whom his father had previously placed in the service of an immoral priest, and who had begun to corrupt another child with the lessons that he had unhappily learned there. The second case was that of a lunatic who had actually been some time in Bedlam, and after his release had committed acts of the grossest indecency in church, of which More's neighbours had complained to him. "Whereupon I," says More himself, "being advertised of these pageants, and being sent unto and required by very devout religious folk to take some other order with him, caused him, as he came wandering by my door, to be taken by the constables and bound to a tree in the street before the whole town, and there they striped him with rods till he waxed weary, and somewhat longer." The man was quite conscious of what he had done, and the bastinado seems to have effectually deterred him from repeating the offence. More then adds—and this is the statement that must be weighed in connection with the scandals in Foxe—"And of all that ever came in my hand for heresy, as help me God, saving (as I said) the sure keeping of them, had never any of them any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a fillip on the forehead."

With regard to Thomas Harding, described by Foxe as "an aged father dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire," it is quite true that he was burned in 1532, but it scarcely appears that he was "persecuted," as the martyrologist says, by Bishop Longland, and it is not at all true that he died a "godly martyr." He

Harding.

had been in trouble for heresy more than once before in the time of a previous Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Smith, and was brought before Longland on April 6, not at Woburn, as Foxe tells us, but at the Old Temple in London, where he confessed his heresy. After some weeks, however, a further examination was deemed necessary, and this time it was conducted by the bishop's vicar-general, John Rayne, assisted by Robert King, Abbot of Thame (a bishop *in partibus* with the title "Reonensis," who afterwards became Bishop of Oxford), and Thomas Waterhouse, Rector of Ashridge. He was reported to the king as a relapsed heretic, but before he suffered he humbly confessed his errors and craved absolution; on which Vicar-General Rayne declared him free from the greater excommunication and restored him to the bosom of the Church. This the readers of Foxe are not informed, but the fact appears in Bishop Longland's register, from which he took his information.

Frith.

As to the last two heretics on our list, Frith and Hewet, who were burned together in Smithfield on July 4, 1533 (little more than a month after the coronation of Anne Boleyn), both were Kentish men, the one a scholar and the other a tailor, apparently his disciple. John Frith was a young man of great ability, who after taking a degree at Cambridge went to Wolsey's college at Oxford, where he first gave evidence of heretical leanings. On the alarm raised about heresy in connection with Garret's flight, he escaped abroad, but afterwards returned, leaving a wife behind him in Flanders. For some unexplained reason he was lodged in the Tower as if he had been a political prisoner, though he was not made to wear irons, and his only crime seems to have been the secret diffusion of heretical treatises in MS., to evade the proclamation against printed books. Sir Thomas More, though he heartily wished these treatises could remain unknown, felt compelled to write a letter in answer to one that he had written upon the Sacrament. When Frith was imprisoned, and it was clear that he would be tried for heresy, his ally Tyndale wrote to him from abroad to be cautious about his answers; for it was very desirable that heretics in their common war against Church authority should not be each other's enemies as well. Tyndale himself

had suppressed a treatise that George Joye would have put forth, and he warned Frith not to insist on doubtful matters, like the real presence, in which Dr. Barnes would be as strongly opposed to him as any of the orthodox. Frith took the hint, and, being examined on purgatory and transubstantiation, confessed that he did not believe in either for his part, but maintained that it was not necessary to the Christian faith to believe or disbelieve either the one doctrine or the other. Such a position seems to have been in those days quite unprecedented. It was considered absurd. Logic required, at least as regards transubstantiation, that it was truth of the very highest importance or very mischievous falsehood. Urgent efforts were made to induce him to recant, but without avail. He died, as he himself declared, not because he insisted that his own judgment in the matter was right, but because he considered that it was wrong to uphold a doctrine so mysterious as a necessary article of faith.

Before quitting this subject of heresy within the kingdom, it is right to take notice of the case of a dead heretic, which came before Convocation early in 1531 in consequence of the extraordinary will that he had left behind him. William Tracy, a Gloucestershire gentleman who had been sheriff of the county expressly declared in this document that he disbelieved in anything that man could do or say to help his soul; he desired no masses said, and no funeral pomp at his burial, and left all his goods to his wife and son. The will was dated October 10, 1530; and as administration could only be granted by an ecclesiastical court, the Church could not but take notice of a defiance thus prepared to be flung in its teeth when the offender should be safe from trouble in this world. Archbishop Warham having brought the matter before Convocation, it was ordered that the testator's body should be exhumed and burned, which was accordingly done. But his son Richard represented that this was disgraceful treatment of a man who had held the office of high sheriff, and the king might profit to the extent of a thousand pounds by revoking grants made to those who had been accessory to it. The hint was one not unlikely to tell on the king and Cromwell; and the chancellor of Worcester diocese, Dr. Parker (who seems besides to have lost his place for it), is

Tracy's testament.

said to have paid £300 for a pardon for simply obeying his superiors.

Thus the king was at this time doing all he could to encourage heresy while professing still to be orthodox; for, as yet, he had not even thrown off subjection to the See of Rome, though he was preparing to do so. And this, in truth, gives some colour to what we are told by Foxe, that the "rigorous proclamation" against heresy in May 1530, though set forth in the name of the king, was really procured by the bishops. But it was utterly false to insinuate that the king was not responsible for it; for he could not have undermined the liberties of the Church in the way he did except by professing to be the Church's patron and friend. And all the while he was thus engaged at home, either in the underhand encouragement of heretics or in tying the hands of Convocation, he was pursuing a long course of strategy in the court of Rome, the final issue of which was clear enough to him but dark to everybody else.

The king's dishonest policy.

It was simply that he might have his own way in marrying Anne Boleyn, free from all fear of interference from abroad, that he had been contriving, ever since Campeggio's return to Italy, by various artifices, to delay the judgment of that supreme court, to which he had made himself responsible, as to the validity of his marriage with Katharine. For when he asked for a legate to be sent into England, he acknowledged the authority from which that legate derived his commission; and the withdrawal of the commission on the queen's appeal placed him under obligation to appear, in person or by proxy, before the Roman tribunal to which the cause was referred. He, of course, knew quite well that an impartial decision must necessarily be in the queen's favour; and without at first reversing his principles of action by disputing the authority of the court, he set about raising vexatious impediments to the hearing of the case, so as to delay as long as possible that sentence in favour of Katharine which was likely to have been long enough deferred even in ordinary course. On being cited to Rome, therefore, his first step was to cause a lawyer named Edward Carne to appear there without any formal commission from himself to

He creates delay at Rome.

plead that the citation was against the privileges of his kingdom. The king could not leave his realm, else there would be disorders in his absence, and he could not plead by proxy in a cause which concerned his own conscience, as he would require to communicate personally with his judges. Opinions were again obtained from universities in this matter. Paris declared that the citation was invalid, and Orleans followed suit. The French at Rome suggested that the cause should be heard at some neutral place, such as Cambray, if not a place in France; but the queen would not hear of such a thing. The French, however, assisted Henry's policy at Rome, and the English ambassadors contrived to keep the courts debating for two whole years as to the admission of the "excusator" (as Carne was called) without a mandate, and as to the sufficiency of his pleas, before coming to the principal cause. It was a fine achievement!

Papal admonitions.

But if the main question made no way at all, something was done at Rome on side issues. On January 5, 1531, the pope was compelled, at Katharine's request, to send the king a brief forbidding him to marry again until the decision of the case; otherwise all his issue would be illegitimate. And as Henry had refused to receive a former citation, it was enjoined that this brief should be affixed to the doors of churches at Bruges, Tournay, and other towns in Flanders, which would be held sufficient promulgation. A year later, on January 25, 1532, Clement was obliged, though with extreme reluctance, to send him another brief; for he was now informed that he had parted company with his queen and openly cohabited with "a certain Anne." The fact was indubitable, and was leading to displays of public feeling in England that were anything but agreeable. In the country the king was assailed with cries to take back his queen, and very strong expressions were used about Anne Boleyn. In the spring of 1532, when the Abbot of Whitby came home from the Convocation of York, the prior asked him, "What news?" and his reply was, "Evil news, for the king's grace is ruled by one common stewed whore, Anne Boleyn, who makes all the spiritualty to be beggared and the temporalty also." To the same cause, doubtless, may be assigned a strange event at Yarmouth, about which an inquiry had to be ordered in

July 1532—"a great riot and unlawful assembly of women, which it is thought could not have been held without the knowledge of their husbands." A month or two later, near London, if we may trust a report circulated in the North of France, Anne barely escaped with her life from a mob of women, and men disguised as women, who had come out to seize her. But the king seemed as infatuated as ever in his devotion to her, and on September 1 he created her Marchioness of Pembroke.

Death of Archbishop Warham.

Ten days before, on August 22, the aged Archbishop Warham had breathed his last, and we cannot doubt that the event at once suggested to the king a new method of achieving his end. Thomas Cranmer was at the time at Ratisbon, ambassador to the emperor, whom he was about to follow into Italy. In November he received at Mantua his letters of recall, and learned that the king intended to make him archbishop—a promotion which, as he long afterwards declared, he accepted with reluctance, and he certainly appears to have been in no haste to come home and receive it. He had been chaplain to the Boleyn family, and could not but see that his services would be required in the divorce matter. Moreover, he had just married, in Germany, his second wife, Osiander's niece—an uncanonical marriage, of course, like that of many priests in England, but rather inconvenient for an archbishop. His future responsibilities, evidently, were likely to be serious. Even before he received his recall, a great step had been taken to intimidate the pope by the meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Boulogne in October. Francis had found it his interest, in his continual jealousy of the emperor, to assist the King of England as much as he could in the matter of his divorce; and, as we have seen, he used his royal influence to procure for him a favourable opinion from the Sorbonne. He declared to Sir Francis Brian his indignation at Henry's being cited to Rome, and promised to write a sharp remonstrance to the pope, which would show his Holiness that he counted Henry's cause his own. His agents at Rome pleaded again for a trial of the cause in England, and he himself was led on by degrees to agree to the meeting at Boulogne, which, while ostensibly held

Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Boulogne.

with a view to devising measures against the Turks, was plainly seen to have other objects. When they met, the two sovereigns agreed to put pressure on the pope to persuade him that their friendship would be his only protection against a general council, which the emperor, at the meeting he was about to hold with Clement at Bologna, would urge him to convoke. Francis had some grievances of his own against the Holy See, and the pope must be made to see that the two sovereigns would support each other firmly.

Francis had no difficulty in making common cause with the English king, and using his good offices with the pope to protect or release him from excommunication. What did it signify in the mind of any European sovereign that the pope used even his strongest weapons to denounce his conduct as immoral and anti-Christian, and call him to repentance? These things could always be adjusted in the end, and the sinner received back into the nominal flock of Christ. But Francis had no notion at that time of the lengths his "good brother and perpetual ally," as he diplomatically called him, was prepared to go in defying all the sanctions of private and international morality merely to give effect to his self-will. In the course of a very few months his eyes were opened.

Even at the meeting, no doubt, Henry urged him to send Cardinals Grammont and Tournon to the pope at Bologna with a message of an unwarrantably dictatorial kind. But it is quite clear that the message actually sent was very considerably qualified—all the more so as Francis, evidently without Henry's knowledge, was actually negotiating at that very time the marriage of his second son, Henry, Duke of Orleans, with the pope's niece, Katharine de' Medici. Neither Francis nor any one else as yet believed that the King of England, whatever menacing words he might have used, would end by throwing off the pope's authority altogether. Why should he, when he could so easily settle matters in the last resort by putting away his mistress instead? What Francis expected to do as regards Henry was simply to prevent things coming to an extremity between him and the Holy See. And Henry, for his part, was anxious that he should use his influence with the pope in an interview which he

was going to hold with Clement next year, that his Holiness might allow him every possible chance.

Just after the Boulogne interview, however, the pope felt compelled to send Henry a third brief, regretting that one who had formerly been so good a son of the Church had so completely changed his conduct during the last two years, and warning him, on pain of excommunication, to dismiss Anne and take back Katharine until the court had pronounced sentence in his matrimonial cause. But this brief, which was dated November 15, 1532, had only been extorted from the pope by the imperial ambassador at Rome under a pledge that no use should be made of it till the nuncio in England had spoken with the king; and the nuncio in England seemed only anxious to do what he could to make matters pleasant, and prevent their coming to an extremity. Henry accordingly paid no more attention to this last brief than he had done to its predecessors. On January 25, 1533, he went through a secret ceremony of marriage with Anne Boleyn. The lady must have then been with child (there were some reports, perhaps erroneous, that she had already been so within the last year or two), and the king felt it necessary at length to redeem a long-standing pledge to her. But keeping this fact concealed, he continued to treat the pope with respect, intending to make further use of him, and he entertained the nuncio in England with all due honour, trying now and then to bribe him to favour the divorce, and now and then to blind him as to what was actually going on. The nuncio's presence was indeed useful, to protect him from the suspicions of his subjects that he was in danger of papal excommunication.

Henry marries Anne Boleyn.

The trial of the cause was still put off at Rome by renewed suggestions, not acknowledged as proceeding from the king, for referring it to some neutral place. The pope was as loth to treat with Henry as Henry was with the pope if he could secure his object otherwise; but the king meanwhile, without taking the least notice of the official admonition he had received on the subject of his own profligacy, ventured to ask his Holiness to pass Cranmer's bulls for the archbishopric of Canterbury without requiring payment of first-fruits. This, however, he did indirectly

Cranmer's promotion to Canterbury.

A certain priest named Edmund Bonner—soon to be a very prominent man indeed—had been at the meeting of the pope and emperor at Bologna, watching matters on his king's behalf, and on his return to England in January wrote about this to Benet, the king's ambassador at Rome, observing that it was of the highest importance that the pope should gratify the king in this, as well as in remitting the cause again to England, because matters, it was darkly hinted, were now taken in hand altogether beyond expectation. The most practical argument, however, was, that whereas Parliament had in the preceding year abolished the payment of first-fruits to Rome, the king was empowered by the Act itself to make the law for the future inoperative by letters-patent, to be issued before Easter 1533 or before Parliament should meet again. There was much hesitation in the college of cardinals, but the bulls were passed after a liberal distribution of gratuities.

Matters now advanced with extraordinary celerity. In March, Anne Boleyn's brother, Lord Rochford, was sent over to France to inform the king's good brother and ally in strictest confidence of two facts only to be published in England at Easter—first, that the king had actually married Anne Boleyn; and second, that there was a fair prospect of issue. Henry therefore relied on his good brother's friendship to maintain the validity of what had been done, and the legitimacy of the expected offspring; and he expressed a hope that Francis would tell the pope plainly that he would not countenance any further proceedings at Rome in Henry's matrimonial cause until the excusator had been admitted. So insulting a message was clearly out of the question. To threaten the independence of the Holy See as a tribunal in spiritual things suited nobody's policy but that of Henry VIII.; and least of all did it suit that of Francis, when he was looking forward to an interview with Clement and the marriage of his son to the pope's niece. Henry, indeed, had himself favoured that interview in order to disunite the pope and the emperor. But the French king did what he could by respectfully urging the pope not to reject the excusator even yet, till their interview had taken place; and his efforts were by no means ineffectual

In March, as soon as the bulls of Canterbury had arrived

in England, the king brought the matter of his divorce before Convocation, and pressed it with such dictatorial urgency that Bishop Fisher alone was bold enough to offer any express resistance. Objection was raised that the case was before the pope; but the president had been furnished with a paper showing that the pope invited every one to declare his opinion. In the Lower House it was carried by fourteen votes to seven that the pope had no dispensing power in such a case. The king had gained his point. Even the servile House of Commons, however, at first refused to pass some anti-papal measures proposed by him, fearing lest the commerce of the kingdom, especially with Flanders, should be cut off by a papal interdict. But in the end the famous statute which abolished appeals to Rome went through all its stages, and any subject henceforth bringing in bulls of excommunication was liable to a *præmunire*. All resistance had in fact collapsed; and on Good Friday, April 11, the new Archbishop of Canterbury (of course under secret orders) wrote to the king, humbly requesting to be allowed to determine his matrimonial cause in a court of his own. Needless to say, he received a commission to do so. He cited the queen to appear before him at Dunstable, that the affair might be managed quietly, and on May 10 he pronounced her contumacious for not appearing. He was, however, rather uncomfortable lest she should still do so before he gave final sentence on the 23rd, and writing to Cromwell advised that the matter should be as little talked of as possible. On the 23rd he gave sentence that the king's marriage was invalid.

Convocation and the divorce.

Cranmer's sentence.

Then by a like mockery of law and justice he held a secret inquiry at Lambeth on the 28th as to the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, which of course was found to be lawful. On what evidences he came to this conclusion the world was not informed. It was not even said on what day the marriage had taken place, or by whom it was witnessed, or what priest officiated at the rite. Cranmer repudiated a subsequent rumour that he had done it himself, and we may well believe he had not. But the name of the celebrant was kept a profound secret, and to this day it is a matter of uncertainty. The determination that the marriage with Anne was valid was

published to the world, but not the grounds for it. The thing was managed just in time to allow of her being crowned on Whitsunday, June 1. But the people only wondered, and would not cheer or uncover as she passed through the streets.

Coronation of Anne Boleyn.

To fulfil his pledge to Anne the king had outraged public feeling. At Easter he had got Dr. George Browne, prior of the Austin Friars, to pray for her as queen; but the audience were shocked, and almost all left the church. The lord mayor then received orders to warn the citizens to suppress murmurings, even amongst their wives. Katharine, who had been removed to Ampthill, received notice that she must no longer call herself queen, and her little household was warned not to give her such a title. Henceforth she was known officially as Princess of Wales, being the king's brother's widow. But merchants were afraid to ship to Flanders lest the emperor should declare war on his aunt's behalf, and Cromwell, now well known as the king's chief counsellor, wisely removed his worldly goods into the Tower. Henry himself scarcely felt secure in the triumph of his self-will; for when, little more than three months after her coronation, Anne was jealous of his attentions to some other lady, he rudely bade her shut her eyes and bear it "as her betters had done," for she should know that it was in his power to humble her again in a moment even more than he had raised her. This was the pleasant understanding on which she had to pass the remainder of what we suppose we must call her wedded life.

The pope could not but reply to these insults to public morality and the contempt they showed for the authority of the Holy See. On July 11 he pronounced Henry excommunicated, and his divorce and re-marriage null, but still allowed him till the end of September to make his peace by putting away Anne and taking back Katharine, before the sentence should be openly declared. In anticipation of this Henry had just been putting a further strain upon the good-nature of Francis, by endeavouring to dissuade him from accomplishing the meeting with Clement, who was about to show himself Henry's enemy. He hoped at least that Francis would not think of interceding with the pope on his account, for he cared not a straw, he said, for

The king excommunicated at Rome.

anything the pope could do against him. This was utterly opposed to his former tone, and was little better than bluster. After the sentence the nuncio in England was recalled, and the king withdrew his ambassadors from Rome, but sent new ones to the pope in France, namely Bonner and Peter Vannes, the papal collector in England; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, being at the same time sent to Francis I. On November 7, Bonner managed to secure an interview with the pope at Marseilles, in which he intimated on Henry's behalf an appeal to the next general council against the sentence of excommunication. It was a gross violation of diplomatic courtesy to thrust such an appeal upon the pope when he was the guest of a friendly sovereign, and Francis resented it even more than Clement, especially as, apart from the manner of the thing, it was a breach of good faith towards him on Henry's part, and an absolute reversal of the policy agreed upon between them, which was to win the pope by offering him the means of escape from the council demanded by the emperor. Henry, however, had now got all the indulgence from the pope that he could expect, and cared nothing for the feelings of his ally about his change of policy.

Meanwhile, on September 7, Anne Boleyn had given birth to a daughter—the future Queen Elizabeth. Great was the king's disappointment that it was not a son; but the people were delighted, hoping that Mary would not be put out of the succession. Mary, however, received intimation immediately afterwards that she must give up the name of princess and live with a reduced household. This she resented, especially as it was only a verbal message; whereupon her servants were taken from her, and she was compelled to act as lady's-maid to her new-born half-sister.

To stop growing disaffection, and also to inquire into its sources, one Elizabeth Barton, called "the Nun of Kent," was arrested, along with several others who had resorted to her, believing that she had a revelation from heaven. This woman's repute for sanctity had begun many years before, when she was a servant-maid at Aldington, near Romney Marsh. She then began to have trances, apparently the results of fits of illness, from which

The Nun of Kent.

she recovered, as she believed, by miracle, in accordance with a revelation from the Virgin Mary. Richard Master, parson of Aldington, made reports of her to Archbishop Warham, which caused the latter in reply to desire further knowledge of her case. A monk of Canterbury, Dr. Edward Bocking, whom she made her confessor, encouraged her to become a nun at St. Sepulchre's in that city. But she returned at times to Aldington, and people came on pilgrimage to the neighbouring chapel of Court-up-street, where she underwent changes of feature and uttered wonderful words in trances that were arranged beforehand. She rebuked sin and the various heresies of the time, and when her opinion was asked about the king's divorce she declared most strongly that God was displeased with it. Nay, she warned the king that if he married Anne Boleyn he would lose his kingdom within seven months; and that in her visions she had seen the very place in hell that was prepared for him. Books were written and even printed of her revelations; and her popularity, which unhappily led her gradually into imposture, was so great that Cranmer, in order to expose her, called her to interviews as if he believed in her pretensions.

The king called his judges with several peers and bishops to discuss what to do with her, but was restrained by the judges from indicting her and her friends of treason in not revealing things that concerned his state: for this, in fact, was what she had actually done to his face. Henry therefore determined to use Parliament, and not ordinary law, as the instrument of his vengeance. But in the meantime a confession was obtained from her at St. Paul's, where she and a number of her supporters were placed on a scaffold on Tuesday, November 23, while John Capon, a friend of Anne Boleyn, lately promoted to the bishopric of Bangor, recounted the whole story of her hypocrisy.

Towards the end of the year it was decided by the King's Council that none should preach at Paul's Cross without declaring in his sermon that the pope's authority was no greater than that of any foreign bishop; and corresponding injunctions were sent to the heads of the four orders of friars. In accordance with this view it was also determined that the pope should be hence-

The pope to be called "Bishop of Rome."

forth spoken of only as "Bishop of Rome"; and that is the title invariably used in State papers in speaking of the Roman pontiff during the remainder of this and the whole of the succeeding reign. The pope was now to be considered only as a foreign bishop who had no authority in England, and whose judgment either in faith or morals was no longer to be regarded.

Parliament met again in January 1534 to give fuller effect to the revolution. Three great Acts were required to put the Church in England under new conditions. A bill was first brought in "concerning the consecration of bishops," which ultimately became an Act "for the restraint of *annates*." Already, as we have seen, an Act had been passed in 1532 to abolish these payments to the court of Rome, but it contained a provision enabling the king to make some composition upon the subject with the pope, and to declare by letters-patent before Easter following, or else before the next Parliament, how far the Act was to be enforced. Of course, this was only a hint to the pope that the king had it in his power to continue or to cut off an old accustomed tribute; and when, after making a composition for Cranmer's bulls, Henry saw that further concessions from Rome were not to be expected, he issued letters-patent on July 9, 1533, to give full validity to the Act. The abolition of the annates, therefore, was now confirmed in Parliament; no bishops, henceforth, were to be presented to the pope, and no bulls were to be procured from Rome. Priors and convents, or deans and chapters, were to elect bishops on receipt of the king's *congé d'élire*, which was to be accompanied with a letter-missive in favour of the king's nominee. The king himself, if they delayed twelve days, might fill the vacancy by patent. A bishop-elect was to be presented to the archbishop of the province, and an archbishop to another metropolitan and two bishops, or else to four bishops assigned by the king to consecrate him.

Acts against the Church.

A second Act abolished Peter's pence and all other payments to Rome, on the ground that the realm was not subject to any laws made by any authority outside it; and the Archbishop of Canterbury was empowered to grant all such licences and dispensations as the king had been used to obtain from the

See of Rome. Exempt monasteries were to be subject to the king's visitation instead of the pope's, and any one suing to Rome for faculties of any kind incurred a *præmunire*. A third Act, founded on the Submission of the Clergy and the statute passed the preceding year abolishing appeals to Rome, forbade the future enactment or promulgation of canons without the royal assent, enabled the king to appoint the thirty-two commissioners for the examination of past canons, and ordained that appeals from archbishops or from abbots or heads of monasteries should in future be heard in Chancery.

To these Acts was further added one touching heresy, annulling the Heresy Act of the second year of Henry IV., and taking away from bishops the power of conventing persons defamed as heretics until formally accused by two witnesses; while it was declared at the same time that nothing done against the pope and his decrees should be heresy in future. By another Act the two Italians, Campeggio and Ghinucci, were deprived of their bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester. Then came an Act for the attainder of the Nun of Kent and of all who had taken part with her.

Among the number of these—considering how little was required to implicate any one in treason in those days—very many might have been included besides Dr. Bocking and Richard Master. But the object was not so much to make many victims as to discredit the nun, and perhaps in doing so to strike at a few distinguished persons. After the nun's confession the Marchioness of Exeter was compelled to seek the king's pardon (which she easily obtained) for over-credulity in listening to her. Before the bill of attainder was drawn up a characteristic official paper, still existing, gave a list of the names of those accused and also what was to be done with them. The nun herself and six others were to suffer death; six more were to be attainted of misprision and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, losing all their goods. Misprision of treason consisted in not revealing things politically dangerous, and the first among the six so accused was Bishop Fisher. His communications with the nun, however, had been perfectly innocent; he could only be accused of not revealing what she had told the king herself; he had given her no advice

Bishop Fisher accused

whatever in the matter. But exculpations were useless in a case of parliamentary attainder. The Act passed against him and the others, but apparently he was not imprisoned at this time. He was, indeed, attainted in his absence, being very ill and unable to travel; and the king, it is said, was satisfied with the infliction of a fine of £300. The nun and the six chief culprits were hanged at Tyburn on April 20.

The name of Sir Thomas More also had been put in the bill at one time, after an attempt had been made to ruin him on a different charge, which proved to be a total failure. He had no difficulty in showing that in such intercourse as he had held, either with the nun herself, which was but slender, or with her adherents and emissaries, he had always refused to hear anything about the king's doings, and had advised her to avoid the subject. More's name was accordingly put out of the bill again, and for the moment he seemed to be discharged of further molestation, except the withdrawal of a salary which he had till then enjoyed.

An Act was next passed for the succession to the crown, entailing it on the children of the king by Anne Boleyn. In the preamble the king's first marriage was declared to be against the laws of God, and a list of prohibited degrees was given in the Act, for which no dispensation could be admitted. An oath was enjoined to be taken to the succession under a penalty by every person of lawful age, and before the prorogation on March 30 it was taken by every member of either of the two Houses. The 3rd of November was fixed as the date when they were to resume their labours.

Act of Succession.

Just a week before this prorogation of the Parliament in England, sentence had been given at Rome that Henry's marriage with Katharine was valid. It was fortunate, as some of Katharine's friends said, that it was passed in her lifetime. The tribunal at Rome was a perfectly just one—at least in this matter there could be no doubt of its justice; but when justice had been so long delayed, and the injured party left to suffer more and more as years passed by, the value of such a tribunal was less appreciated than it might otherwise have been. The common

The sentence at Rome.

sense of the people and the indignation of the women of England had settled the matter long ago in the minds of the public at large. Henry's dallying with the papal nuncio, and a belief that justice would be done at Rome by an authority to which the king himself, for a long time, appeared to pay the utmost deference, had only served to restrain the general impatience and leave him free to pursue his high-handed acts of tyranny against his lawful wife and daughter. When Katharine was removed to Buckden she was saluted as queen all the way along, in defiance of a royal proclamation that she was only to be called princess-dowager. But she was closely guarded, and was surrounded by spies who made it very difficult for her even to write in private. Two faithful chaplains were taken from her and lodged in the Tower; her household was reduced, and she was removed from one unhealthy residence to another, each of them virtually a prison. She was even afraid of being poisoned, and would eat nothing that was not cooked in her own bedchamber. And finally she and her daughter were kept apart from each other, lest they should give each other comfort. Yet after the sentence came from Rome, she was informed that the king considered it of no effect, as he had appealed to a general council; and, moreover, that the law now involved the penalty of death to any one who should acknowledge her as queen and would not swear to the Succession Act.

Treatment of Katharine.

The sentence, in fact, now that it had come, merely made Henry desperate and more obstinate than ever to defy the pope. There had been times in his previous pursuit of a divorce when he had really despaired and thought of changing his purpose, but now he had committed himself too deeply; and though he did not truly respect his new wife after marrying her, the vindication of his own self-will had become a supreme object, to which all other considerations must give way. He was not without fear of an invasion by the emperor to give effect to the papal sentence; and he gave orders to prepare beacons all round the coast, and to have all his ordnance and shipping thoroughly overhauled. Within the country, at the same time, he got preachers appointed everywhere to proclaim what he hypocritically called "the Gospel and the true Word of God," and commissioned a body of

informers to report against any who maintained the pope's authority.

The execution of the nun and her adherents in April no doubt caused the people to be sworn with less difficulty to the Act of Succession. In London many had been sworn already; but though the oaths were taken they produced an intense feeling of irritation, which men durst not express openly. Many, no doubt, like More's daughter, Margaret Roper, swore with the qualification "as far as would stand with the law of God," which seems to have been connived at to save trouble; but such evasions could not well be used by men like More himself and Bishop Fisher, who both absolutely refused the oath when it was tendered to them and others by the commissioners at Lambeth on April 13. More was the first person who refused, but he admitted that he could have agreed to swear to the succession if it had not been for the preamble; and Bishop Fisher, when he was called in, took the same line. On this Cranmer wrote to Cromwell urging that it would be wise to accept their oaths to the succession without the preamble; but the king saw clearly that such a compromise "might be taken as a confirmation of the Bishop of Rome's authority, and a reprobation of the king's second marriage." Consequently, after a few days both More and Fisher were lodged in the Tower, from which neither of them emerged again alive. Another who refused the oath at the same time, Dr. Nicholas Wilson, was a royal chaplain, and had been the king's confessor; but after sharing More's imprisonment for some time he reconsidered the matter, agreed to take the oath, and was liberated.

The oath to the succession.

Cranmer now began a visitation of his province, and obtained the signatures of the clergy generally to a declaration that "the Bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in this kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." An opinion to this effect had been obtained from the Convocation of Canterbury on March 31, and a like judgment was given by that of York on May 5, which the archbishop certified on June 1 and 2. Declarations of royal supremacy, with renunciation of papal authority, were likewise obtained from the two universities and the monasteries throughout the

The clergy repudiate the pope's authority.

kingdom. The process of taking them lasted from May till the end of the year. A visitation of the different orders of friars was also requisite to compel them to acknowledge the new state of things, and two friars were found sufficiently subservient to accept a royal commission for the purpose. They were empowered to visit all friars' houses of every order, laying down rules for their future guidance, and binding each man separately to the Succession Act. The names of these visitors were Dr. George Browne, prior of the Augustinian Hermits, and Dr. Hilsey, provincial of the Black Friars. But their task was not an easy one. The Grey Friars (or Franciscans) in particular, especially those of Greenwich, who had given so much trouble before, offered a firm resistance to several of the articles proposed to them, especially as by their rule they were expressly subject to the pope's authority; and the seven houses of the Observants (or reformed Franciscans) in England had to be cleared, and the more obstinate among their inmates sent to the Tower. The others were transferred to houses of the Conventuals (or unreformed Franciscans), where they were loaded with chains and treated with great severity. Thus the whole Order of the Observants was suppressed.

Suppression of the Observant Friars.

To no religious community, however, was the oath a more painful trial than it was to the monks of the London Charterhouse, and of no other have we at this time more interesting records. The Carthusian Order was one of special sanctity; its rule of life one of special self-denial. A little secluded company of monks served God day and night in a place about half a mile outside the bounds of the city, and did not care to concern themselves with what the great world did. The Charterhouse was really an asylum for those who would escape from the world, either to shun its ordinary temptations, or, it might be, to avoid special dangers when the times were evil. One brother in that community had a personal history which deserves special notice. Sebastian Newdigate had been in past years a courtier, and can be shown to have received royal favours as late as 1526, which makes it pretty certain that it was in the following year that he changed his mode of life; for it appears from authentic memoirs that he was

The Charterhouse of London.

Sebastian Newdigate.

urged to renounce the court by his sister, Lady Jane Dormer, who was alarmed at the king's intention of putting away his wife, and feared the corruption of her brother's morals. Sebastian would not quite believe at first that the king would go so far, but he asked his sister what she would think of his becoming a Carthusian. "You a monk!" she said in astonishment, "I should expect sooner to see you hanged," little thinking that he would ultimately be both. But when he saw that the king was really pursuing a divorce, Sebastian abandoned the court and was received into the Charterhouse.

When the commissioners visited the monastery in the spring and called on the prior, John Houghton, to swear to the Succession Act, acknowledging the validity of the marriage with Anne Boleyn, he replied that what lady the king was pleased to marry or divorce was not a matter that concerned them. But the commissioners insisting that he should call his convent together, and that they should declare the king's first marriage invalid and themselves bound to obey the issue of the second, the prior said he could not see how the first marriage, duly solemnised and so long unquestioned, could be invalidated. On this he was ordered to the Tower along with Humphrey Middlemore, procurator of the house. They remained in prison for a month; but being persuaded by good and learned men that they might consent under a condition to the demand made upon them, they were liberated, and persuaded their brethren to swear to the Act, with the qualification "as far as was lawful." The brethren hesitated, and the prior himself was convinced their acquiescence gave them but a temporary respite. "Our hour," he told them, "has not yet come." On May 29 the royal commissioners, Roland Lee (who had just been made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield) and Thomas Bedyll, clerk of the council, took the oaths of six monks and eight servants and inmates of the house, the prior and procurator being among the former. But others required more potent persuasion, and on June 6 Bishop Roland Lee returned, accompanied by Sir Thomas Kytson, sheriff of London, with an armed band ready to take them to prison. Under this influence the oaths of the remaining brethren were taken, of whom nineteen were priests

Prior Houghton.

(among these was Newdigate), three were *professi*, and thirteen were *conversi*. The house was then left in comparative peace for a time.

Bishop Roland Lee and Thomas Bedyll had been doing the same work elsewhere, as at Sheen Priory, where they met with little resistance. They had also tried their powers on the Observants of Richmond, but were less successful there. The next thing was to get preachers to set forth the king's title as supreme head of the Church. In the latter part of August Bedyll was rather weary of this business, and lamented the obstinacy of divers religious men "addict to the Bishop of Rome." Among these were some Carthusian monks (not of London only) and some of the brethren of the great monastery of Sion—men ready to endanger alike their souls and bodies and risk the suppression of their houses for upholding the pope's "usurped authority." But for their great repute for holiness, Bedyll wrote to Cromwell, it mattered not what became of them, "so that their souls were saved." And he added, with equal sanctimoniousness, "As for my part, I would that all such obstinate persons of them who be willing to die for the advancement of the Bishop of Rome's authority were dead indeed by God's hand, that no man should run wrongfully into obloquy for their just punishment." Sion was the one only monastery of the Bridgettine Order in England—a double monastery, in which monks and nuns lived in separate wings of the same building; and the brethren were held in very high esteem. By the assiduous efforts of Bishop Roland Lee and Bedyll, the confessor (who was the superior) had been got to preach the king's title. So also had a brother named David Curson twice, except that he interjected *mea culpa*—perhaps by accident. But on a recent Sunday one Whitford was wilful enough to preach without saying anything of the king's title at all; and worse happened on St. Bartholomew's Day, when one Ricot, though he did as he was required, added that he who so commanded him should discharge his conscience; whereupon nine of the brethren immediately left the church. Compulsory preaching did not reconcile men much to the new supremacy.

Monastery of Sion.

Parliament met again as appointed on November 3. Its first business was to pass a short Act declaring the king

supreme head of the Church of England, and annexing that title to his imperial Crown. In the preamble the recognition of that title "by the clergy in their convocations" was referred to, but no notice was taken of the qualification with which that recognition had been so unwillingly agreed to. A new Act was then passed touching the succession, setting forth the form of oath to be taken, and declaring it binding upon every subject of the realm. Following this was an Act of Treasons, specially devised to protect the king and Anne Boleyn from any breath of murmur against the legality of their marriage. There was also an Act of Attainder against Bishop Fisher and others for having refused the oath, and a like act against Sir Thomas More. And there were two enactments which more directly concerned the Church. By one the impositions of first-fruits and tenths on benefices, which had been withdrawn from the pope, were reconstituted and given to the Crown. By the other the bishops were enabled to appoint suffragans approved by the Crown, and six-and-twenty places were named as Sees for those so appointed. This apparently was to supply a want which would naturally arise from the abrogation of papal jurisdiction; for many of the English bishops hitherto had been aided by abbots or others whom the pope had appointed bishops *in partibus infidelium*. Thus there were bishops of Gallipoli, Sidon, and various other places serving as suffragans in England, for whom the king could hardly have provided successors in those far-off Sees.

Acts of supremacy, succession, etc.

Thus the edifice of royal supremacy, which had been five years in building, was completed by legislation. We shall next see to what uses the new Acts were put.

AUTHORITIES.—More's English Works are referred to in the text; for Tyndale's see Parker Society's ed. Tunstall's faculty to More to read Lutheran books will be found in Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. 711. For different versions of the story about the king and Tyndale's *Obedience*, see *Narratives of the Reformation* (edited by Nichols for the Camden Society), pp. 52-58, and G. Wyatt's account of it printed in Cavendish's *Wolsey* (Singer's ed. 1825), ii. 201-205. As to burnings and abjurations of heretics see Foxe (Cattley's edition most convenient), where also will be found Tracy's will. Cp. Richard Tracy's letter about the burning of his bones, in Calendar of Henry VIII. vol. vi. no. 40. For the case of Thomas Harding see *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, vol. xv. p. 169. More's denial of having used cruelty to heretics will be found in his English Works, pp. 901-902.

For the political history see *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (published by Royal Commission in 1830), vols. i. and vii. especially, with the Calendar of *Letters and Papers*, vols. v. to vii., and Hamy's *Entrevue de François Premier avec Henry VIII.* For Cranmer see *Dict. of National Biog.* and authorities there cited. Of him, as of Warham, Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops* gives a pretty full account. For the Charterhouse and other monks see Chauncy's *Historia aliquot Martyrum* (ed. 1888), and the works of Doreau, Hendriks, and Gasquet. As to Sebastian Newdigate see Clifford's *Life of Jane Dormer*, pp. 19-23, and Hendriks, pp. 99-104. For the troubles of More and Fisher see Bridgett's *Biographies*, Roper's *Life of More*, and the old *Life of Fisher*, ed. by Van Ortroy. As to the statutes referred to, the most important are printed in Gee and Hardy's *Documents*, which is more convenient for reference than the statute-book itself.

CHAPTER IX

A TIME OF SORE TRIAL

On January 15, 1535, an order was made in Council that the title "on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England" should be added to the king's style. It was a title that shocked deeply religious minds—even Luther in Germany could not stomach it. But, as the king himself always declared, it conveyed no new powers; and he was right. A temporal sovereign always must be supreme, even over the Church within his own kingdom. How far he may abuse his powers is another question. Thomas Cromwell, who for some months had been the king's chief secretary and master of the rolls, on January 21 received a commission for a general visitation of the churches, monasteries, and clergy throughout the kingdom. On the 30th commissions were issued for the different parts of the kingdom for a general valuation of benefices, that they might be taxed for first-fruits and tenths. The bishops were also compelled to surrender their bulls from Rome, and in the course of the next few months express renunciations of papal jurisdiction were obtained from each under their several seals.

The king's new style.

To strengthen his hands, Cromwell was appointed the king's vicar-general or vicegerent in spiritual things, and Cranmer and the bishops took their orders from him, especially about having the king's supremacy preached within their dioceses. The greater part of the clergy and bishops resigned themselves to the new state of affairs, which many thought so forced and artificial that it could not possibly last long. But the expression even of this

Cromwell vicar-general.

belief was dangerous, and the clergy stood in dread of informers. In April orders were sent out for the arrest of all who maintained "the Bishop of Rome's" jurisdiction or prayed for him in the pulpit as pope; and in the same month the new Acts of supremacy and succession were first brought to bear on a little company, mainly consisting of Charterhouse monks, accused of treason. Their names were John Houghton, prior of the London Charterhouse; Augustine Webster and Robert Laurence, heads of the two Charterhouses of Axholme in Lincolnshire and Bevall in Notts; Dr. Richard Reynolds of the Bridgettine Monastery of Sion; and John Hale, vicar of Isleworth. Along with these was also accused a young priest named Robert Feron of Teddington, who saved his skin and earned a pardon after condemnation by revealing conversations between himself and Hale. In these private utterances Hale had spoken of the king as a cruel tyrant and robber of the commonwealth, and commented on his gross profligacy, of which his second marriage was the shameful consummation. He was compelled to ask forgiveness for what he had said both of the king and Queen Anne, and could only plead in excuse that he had uttered the scandals against the king on information given him by another person. He gave the name of his informant, who was, in fact, one of his own accusers; but it does not appear that the latter was made to suffer for statements which, flagrant as they were, no doubt were strictly true.

Charterhouse monks and others.

Prior Houghton, as we have seen, had already been in the Tower, and had obtained his release on terms which he was convinced would only be held sufficient for a time. The new Acts passed in November, he knew well, would bring further trials; and, while he and his convent were strengthening themselves against evil to come, they received as guests the two priors from the country, Laurence and Webster, each of whom had come up independently to visit the brethren in London. They and Prior Houghton took counsel together on the situation, and resolved to forestall the coming of the king's commissioners to the monastery by a visit to Cromwell to urge that the brethren should not be pressed for any further oaths. Needless to say, such persuasions were in vain, and the two country

Martyrdom of the Carthusians and Dr. Reynolds.

priors only involved themselves prematurely in the dangers of their London brethren. On April 20 they appeared before Cromwell at the Rolls, and were asked whether they would obey the king as supreme head of the Church of England. They replied that they could not acknowledge him as such, and were forthwith sent to the Tower, where they and Prior Houghton and Dr. Reynolds were visited six days later by Cromwell and other councillors to induce them to comply with the Act; but they still refused. On the 28th they were all, including Hale and Feron, brought to trial at Westminster before a special commission, with the Duke of Norfolk at the head. Dr. Reynolds made a singularly bold and able defence. Next day, after much solicitation made to them to recant, they were found guilty, and the dreadful sentence for treason was passed upon them. On May 4 it was carried out with even more than usual brutality, the men being ripped up in each other's presence, their arms torn off, and their hearts rubbed upon their mouths and faces.

The world was horrified. The crime was a new one, and besides the barbarity of the execution there was an additional novelty in the fact that priests were made to expiate a civil crime without having been previously degraded from the priesthood. No such feeling was aroused when a month later (on June 4) two Dutch Anabaptists, a man and a woman, were burned in Smithfield, and twelve others despatched to meet a like fate in other towns. That sect had for more than a year occasioned much trouble at Münster, where they were even now besieged by their bishop. Their views, which, besides re-baptism and a good deal of strange theology, included also community of goods, had been largely disseminated in Westphalia and Holland, and now had overflowed into England. Twenty-five of these Dutch heretics, nineteen men and six women, were examined in St. Paul's Church on May 25, and fourteen of them were condemned with the results just stated. The others were reconciled to the Church and sent back to the Low Countries, to be dealt with as Mary of Hungary saw fit.

Anabaptists burned.

But the fate of such victims seems almost unimportant compared with the cruelties inflicted on the most noble of the king's own subjects. Other prisoners in the Tower were now

informed that they must swear to the recent statutes to avoid the fate of the Carthusians. These were Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, Dr. Nicholas Wilson, once the king's confessor, Thomas Abell, who had been chaplain to Queen Katharine, and Richard Fetherstone, the Princess Mary's schoolmaster. Six weeks were given them to make up their minds, but they all replied that they were ready to die at once rather than acknowledge the king's supremacy. Meanwhile the news came to England that on May 20 Pope Paul III. had made Bishop Fisher a cardinal; at which Henry was more enraged than ever, and declared he would send his head to Rome to receive the hat.

Fisher made a cardinal;

Cromwell, with some others of the Council, had already paid a visit to Fisher in the Tower, on May 7, to examine him on certain subjects, the first of which was the king's supremacy. Cromwell read to him a copy of the Act, but he replied that he could not agree to take the king as supreme head of the Church. Cromwell then read to him another Act, making it treason to deny the supremacy; but he was already aware of its contents. In fact, he had been informed in the beginning of February that a new statute had just come into operation (the date, February 1, was fixed in the Act itself), by which a number of new offences had been created treason, and, among other things, any attempt by word or writing to deprive the king or queen of any of their titles. This, of course, included the title of "Supreme Head," and it is a fact that even that subservient House of Commons refused to pass the bill without inserting the word "maliciously," in the hope, apparently, that inoffensive persons who objected to the new title would be shielded from the rigour of the law. But Sir Thomas More warned his fellow-prisoner Fisher not to attach much importance to the insertion of this word. He knew too well the way in which laws regarding treason were construed to believe that it afforded the smallest protection to the accused.

As Rome was bent on rewarding Bishop Fisher for disowning royal supremacy, Henry saw that mere threats would be insufficient to make his new title respected. On June 14 four clergymen of the king's Council, with a notary and some other officials, visited Fisher and More separately in the

Tower, and took down their answers to three interrogatories prepared beforehand. These were—whether they would obey the king as head of the Church, acknowledge the validity of his marriage with Anne and the invalidity of that with Katharine, and why they would not answer explicitly. More declined to answer any of these questions. Fisher stood by his refusal of the supremacy, which he offered to justify more fully; but as to the king's marriages, he could only promise to obey and swear to the Act of Succession, without saying more.

On June 11 an indictment was found against Bishop Fisher and three of the monks of the London Charterhouse, whom the fate of their prior had not terrified into submission. The names of these brethren were Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmewe, and our friend Sebastian Newdigate. The clerk of the Council, Thomas Bedyll, had visited the Charterhouse on the very day of the prior's execution, and after a long discussion had left some books of his own and others' composition against the pope's primacy. These the brethren returned next day without comment, and afterwards owned that they saw nothing in them to alter their opinions. Some of the other brethren, perhaps, might not be so steadfast, and another visitor, John Whalley, conceived that a little preaching might bring them over. But the three were summoned to Stepney on May 25, apparently before Cromwell, and flatly refused to accept the king's supremacy. For this they received sentence as traitors, and on the 19th they were hanged and quartered at Tyburn. Meanwhile, on the 17th, the venerable Bishop Fisher was brought to his trial at Westminster, and received sentence under the same law. On the 22nd he was beheaded on Tower Hill, and buried in the neighbouring church of All Hallows Barking. The king apparently thought it wise not to let him be quartered or disembowelled, for the sympathy of the people with the sufferer was unmistakable.

indicted with some Carthusians,

and beheaded.

More's time soon followed. He was brought to his trial on July 1. His caution in persistently declining to answer dangerous questions did not serve to protect him. He had never expressly denied the king's supremacy,

More's trial

and had always avoided the subject; but it was found that he had sent letters to Fisher in prison comparing the Act of Parliament to a two-edged sword, and Fisher had used the same comparison when examined by the lord chancellor in the Tower. If a man answered one way, this two-edged sword would confound his soul; if the other way, it would confound his body. What this meant was pretty plain. Other things were also found out about their private communications, tending to involve More in Fisher's treason; and the better to ensure a conviction, Rich, the solicitor-general, had visited him in the Tower, and drawn him into a conversation about the authority of Acts of Parliament, to show that he recognised some limitation in the obedience due to them. That was no doubt the case. But the account of their conversation given by Rich was so entirely false that More not only corrected it by giving the true story, but charged Rich with perjury in open court. He conducted his own defence with all the astuteness that might have been expected in such an able lawyer; but he was found guilty under the new law. Then, his tongue being loosed, he spoke his mind freely, declaring that he had studied the subject of the statute for seven years, and could find no good authority to maintain that a temporal man might be head of the spiritualty. On this he was interrupted by the chancellor, and a conversation followed in court in which the Duke of Norfolk also took part. But More certainly held his own, and ended by hoping that as St. Paul and St. Stephen, whom Paul persecuted, were now friends in heaven, it might be the same with him and his judges. No man ever met an unjust doom in a more admirable spirit.

He was conveyed to the Tower, where on the wharf his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper, broke through the line of guards and took a last embrace of her father. The spectators were surprised and spellbound. When More himself found breath to speak, he bade her have patience, for she knew his mind. From his dungeon afterwards he wrote to her with a coal, the only writing instrument he was allowed: "Dear Meg, I never liked your manner towards me better than when you kissed me last. For I like when daughterly love and dear charity

and execution.

hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy." On July 6 he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Opposition to the king was now hopeless within the kingdom, unless there was help from outside. And to whom could men look outside? First of all there was the pope, the old recognised head of a universal, not a mere national, Church. Sir Thomas More had protested, after being found guilty, against the law by which he was tried as being opposed to the laws of God and of the Church universal, the supreme government of which belonged to the See of Rome. Acts of Parliament in one particular kingdom were invalid if they came into collision with a higher authority respected by all Christendom. But could that higher authority continue to make itself respected in the way it had been hitherto? That was the question which then hung in the balance. If it could, the powers of this world must agree to maintain it and to punish the disobedient. Would they do so now? The pope wrote to several European princes that he intended to deprive Henry of his kingdom for his gross and daring impieties, and there was not one who did not approve his purpose. England, too, was ripe for a rebellion, for the king was extremely unpopular. But Francis I., while he condemned the conduct of his brother of England, could not afford to give up a useful ally, and was resolved to remain neutral between him and the Holy See. The emperor would not show himself hostile to Henry for fear of driving him into the arms of France. The emperor's brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, must take counsel with the emperor before action. And so, in fact, nothing could be done, though there were several noblemen even at Henry's court who would have been ready to rise against their sovereign and end his impious tyranny, if the emperor had only determined on landing an army in England.

The papacy on its trial.

Henry himself was by no means blind to the dangers of his position, though even he did not know what overtures for foreign assistance were made secretly by his own nobles to the imperial ambassador Chapuys. But he saw plainly the danger from abroad if the emperor should be bold enough to turn against him; and for this reason he had for years been looking for friends upon the Continent who could give the emperor trouble.

In 1533, when the throne of Denmark was vacant, he had some hopes of getting elected to it himself by an intrigue with the city of Lubeck, or at least of securing it for a nominee of his own. His policy here was a complete failure, and only served to prevent for many years a cordial friendship with Christian III., the king actually chosen, who, as Dr. Barnes, then at Hamburg, strove in vain to persuade him, would really have been a valuable ally for his purpose against both pope and emperor. Now, in the autumn of 1535, he was particularly anxious for a good understanding with the Protestant princes of Germany, trusting to dissuade them from agreeing to a general council by which the pope, with the emperor's concurrence, was anxious to settle the religious differences of Western Christendom. In this he was almost forestalled by Francis I., who, equally anxious to raise up trouble for the emperor, had invited Melancthon to Paris and endeavoured to persuade the electors, not indeed to oppose the council directly, but to urge strong reasons for delay. Francis, however, had been burning Lutherans at Paris, and the Germans were really much more disposed to consider proposals from Henry for a religious agreement. They did not, even at this time, much admire Henry's conduct, but thought it might be good policy to league with him against the pope.

Henry's intrigues with Lubeck.

Dr. Barnes had already been paving the way for this with Luther's friend, John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and, according to promise, the king sent his almoner Dr. Edward Foxe, now Bishop-elect of Hereford, to the Protestants in the latter part of the year. To him and Dr. Barnes, and another English agent, Dr. Nicholas Heath, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse stated their terms at Schmalkalden on Christmas Day. These were, in the main, that Henry should defend the principles of the Confession of Augsburg (laid by the princes before the emperor in 1530), and that no general council should be accepted by either party without mutual consent. On the latter point Henry was quite disposed to agree with them; but he declined to commit himself and his realm to any express theology until after conference with such learned men as they might send to him. The ambassadors, however, remained in Germany till

Foxe's embassy to Germany.

late in the spring of 1536, holding religious discussions with the theologians there, mainly with a view of getting them to endorse the king's reasons for rejecting papal authority. In this, however, they were unsuccessful; for though the Lutherans had already admitted some time before that marriage with a deceased brother's wife was a wrong thing in itself, they could not be got to concede that when done it was invalid.

To return to domestic matters. We can imagine how bitterly the situation was felt by Katharine of Aragon, now superseded as queen and misnamed officially Princess-Dowager of Wales, or by her innocent daughter Mary, proclaimed a bastard, and even threatened with the Tower if she did not acknowledge herself as such; for she, too, was actually expected to take the oath and recognise her father's second marriage! Never was England so degraded by tyranny as when the sympathy so generally felt for these royal victims did not dare to show itself by overt acts. The people, no doubt, were bound to their king, but the king was also bound to the law and the constitution; and yet there was no mode of keeping him to his obligations. For the nobles had lost their independence, the common people were powerless without a head, and the Church within the kingdom—that element of the national life which had really most freedom of spirit—was not only bound and shackled, but terrorised and unable to speak out. There were not likely to be many more martyrdoms now for the primacy of the See of Rome, for few would care to throw away their lives for an authority which even now could not launch its thunderbolts against the most flagrant offender for want of assurance that its sentence would be executed.

The tyranny at home.

The Church of England was thus left under the absolute control of Henry, so far as its external polity was concerned. A royal visitation of churches and monasteries had been contemplated for some time, and Cromwell had been already named in January as the instrument by which it should be effected. But no particular steps were taken to carry out the idea till the summer. The bishops stood in the way, many of whom were holding their own visitations at the time, and were not inclined to give up the last vestige of their independence. In June it was suggested to Cromwell by Dr.

Richard Layton, one of the clerks of the Council (who had examined More and Fisher in the Tower), that he and a certain Dr. Thomas Legh (who had examined one of Fisher's servants) might be appointed his commissaries for the visitation of the north country from the diocese of Lincoln to the borders of Scotland, for they had friends everywhere in those parts who would enable them to detect abuses. This was not conceded at once; but in July, having accompanied Cromwell and the court into Gloucestershire, Layton was allowed to make a beginning in the visitation of monasteries only, taking those in that district first, while his friend Dr. Legh started on a similar mission at Worcester, accompanied by a notary named John Ap Rice. The methods of these two visitors differed somewhat, and Legh actually visited again in August the monastery of Bruton after Layton had visited it already; but neither of them seems to have been very scrupulous, and though abuses, no doubt, existed in some monasteries, it is impossible to suppose they were so flagrant or so general as their reports imply. From Bath and Bristol Layton proceeded to Oxford, where he instituted new lectures, abolished the study of the canon law, and committed shameful havoc in destruction of the works of Duns Scotus. He then passed on into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, where he caused two small monasteries at Folkestone and Dover to surrender, and returned towards the end of the year to London, in the neighbourhood of which he and Bedyll did their best to coerce the remaining brethren of Sion into accepting the king's new title. His colleague Legh, meanwhile, had passed through Wiltshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey, and from thence by Bedfordshire to Cambridge, where, in October, he visited the university (of which Cromwell had just been made chancellor in the room of Bishop Fisher), leaving a set of injunctions for its future government.

Monasteries visited in southern England.

Both visitors had professed to discover a great amount of foulness in most of the monasteries they visited, besides superstitious relics. But Legh was foremost in a policy of laying down severe regulations for the monks, binding them by antiquated restrictions which it had long become impossible to maintain. And this policy, he frankly told Cromwell in his letters, would be useful

Episcopal visitations suspended.

in making monks sue to him for dispensations from rules which, even in the interest of the houses themselves, required occasionally to be set aside. But he and his colleague, John Ap Rice, struck out a still bolder course, and suggested to Cromwell that as the bishops disliked interference with their visitations, they should be compelled to acknowledge that they held their jurisdiction merely from the king, who was, therefore, free to resume it into his own hands; for if they were allowed to exercise it without interruption they would do so according to the canon law, which was now abolished. This advice was taken, and the bishops in the beginning of October received orders to suspend their visitations pending the royal visitation to be held under the direction of Cromwell as vicar-general.

Monasteries visited in northern England.

Legh and Layton, then, having traversed by different routes a large part of the south of England, met before the end of the year at Lichfield, and visited Yorkshire and the northern monasteries in company. Here, as in the south, their objects were to inquire, partly as to the revenues of the houses, and how far they were burdened with debt, partly as to pilgrimages, relics, and superstitions, but most of all as to the immoralities practised by the inmates. They had transmitted piecemeal reports of what they called their *comperta* in the southern houses to Cromwell. For the province of York and the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield they made up a *compendium compertorum* of most extraordinary foulness, similar to one drawn up by Ap Rice from the records of Legh's visitation for the diocese of Norwich. If we are to believe these "comperts" (so the word was Anglicised in a subsequent Act of Parliament), a large proportion of the monasteries of England were little better than brothels. There were even nuns who had had children, and in several instances by priests. Some of these cases may be accounted for by the fact that ladies had found retreats in religious houses after personal misfortune and disgrace; and no doubt there were other scandals here and there. But there are grave reasons for suspecting the whole of these "comperts" to be a gross exaggeration. Nor can we well believe that visitors cared much about truth, who did their work so hurriedly. Certain

it is that many of the houses which stood worst in their reports were afterwards declared to bear a fair character by gentlemen of the neighbourhood, specially commissioned afterwards to report on them for other purposes. Moreover, we know that the visitors' reports to Cromwell were secret, and had a distinct object in view, to be mentioned presently.

Cromwell himself had conducted some visitations personally while travelling about with the king in the autumn of 1535. He had made inventories of the goods of such monasteries as came in his way, and had turned out all monks or nuns who had made their profession before they were twenty-five, letting the rest know that they were free either to go or to remain, as a very rigorous reformation was at hand. Measures like these, however, did not tend to improve the discipline of the monasteries, which the royal visitation altogether was admirably calculated to destroy, encouraging monks to turn informers, while heads of houses were harassed in a way to make them weary of their charge and anxious to surrender.

Legh and Layton concluded their work in February 1536, when Henry's "Long Parliament" had met again for its last session. The principal measure laid before it was one for the dissolution of monasteries under £200 a year in value. By what pressure the consent of the two Houses was obtained to this measure it might be rash to affirm, although it is certain that the king had intended to forbid the attendance of the abbots this session, and there is a remarkable tradition recorded by Spelman of a royal threat which intimidated the House of Commons. But the words of the Act itself are suggestive. The preamble states that carnal sin and abominable living were usual in small monasteries with less than twelve inmates. So, it is said, the king had ascertained by the "comperts" of his late visitations, "and by sundry credible informations," and the only reformation possible was to suppress such houses entirely and transfer the inmates to large houses, where religion, happily, was well observed. Writers of a later generation speak of a certain "Black Book," supposed to have been produced in this Parliament, which contained a register of monastic enormities; but there is no appearance that any document of the kind ever existed except the *Compendium*

Suppression of the smaller monasteries.

Compertorum, and certainly this, in which some of the largest monasteries were the worst defamed, affords no warrant for the extraordinary insinuation that vice prevailed invariably where the numbers fell below twelve, and that the great monasteries were better regulated. So it is evident that the Parliament took the king's word as to the character of the disclosures, and passed the bill because they were required to do so. Nothing else alleged to have been discovered in the monasteries could really have gone before Parliament or the public except certain vague statements that immoralities were practised in a large number of houses.

But before this parliamentary session had begun—before the visitors had ended their labours in the north, and while the king's ambassadors in Germany were still discussing theology with the Protestant divines—an event occurred which made a sensible change in the situation. Katharine of Aragon, after nearly four years' separation from her husband, died at Kimbolton on January 7, 1536. A pathetic story which has gained too much credit with historians says that at the last she wrote a touching letter to Henry, which drew tears into his eyes when he read it. Facts, unhappily, reported at the time in confidential despatches by Chapuys, show that the tale is a pure invention. Katharine, for her part, could not have written such a letter; for she had long been obliged to yield to the painful conviction that her husband had become utterly hardened and unscrupulous. And the news of her death gave him a satisfaction which he was at no pains to conceal. "God be praised," he said, "we are now free from all fear of war!" Next day he clothed himself in yellow and danced with the ladies of his court, like one mad with delight. There was no doubt the relief was intense, for tardy justice might still have overtaken him under a system in which temporal princes were supposed to be bound to defend public morality and the respect due to Holy Church against outrageous conduct such as his. The emperor, too, who was just returning from Tunis and on his way to visit the pope in Rome, might have been moved at last, if not by the ties of blood (which could hardly have touched deeply so cold a politician's heart), at least by the ties of honour, to demand justice to his aunt, even

Death of Katharine of Aragon.

for the sake of his own estimation. But the king knew the emperor well enough: Katharine was dead, and it was no use troubling himself for her sake any longer. She was dead, and it was apparent that theoretical justice, declared at Rome after very long delays, was of no practical value even when it came. She was dead, and it may almost be said that an old system had died with her, of which she was the victim. The guarantees for religion and morality were not likely to be found henceforth in any visible monarchy over Christ's Church on earth.

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CHAPTER X

THE NORTHERN REBELLION

It might well be supposed that if Henry was delighted at the death of his first wife, Anne Boleyn was no less so. "Queen Anne wore yellow for the mourning," says the chronicler Hall, dishonestly concealing from his readers the fact that this was done by the king as well. And we cannot doubt that she shared the sentiments of her father and her brother (whose position at court was entirely due to her influence over the king), who said it was a pity the Princess Mary survived her mother. Often before had she herself said of the princess, "I will be the death of her, or she of me." So great, indeed, were the fears for Mary's safety under a despotism swayed by such influence, that she herself had listened to plans that had been seriously considered, with the sanction of the emperor, for secretly carrying her off to Flanders; but after Katharine's death she was more strictly guarded, and the thing, which of course had been difficult always, became absolutely impracticable. So she still remained in her father's power, yet refusing to pass a stigma upon her birth by acknowledging the Act of Succession; and in this refusal, as Anne Boleyn knew too well, she had the sympathies of all outside the court.

Anne Boleyn and the Princess Mary.

The consciousness both of the king and of Anne Boleyn that their union was really regarded by the public as mere concubinage, with a spurious ecclesiastical sanction confirmed by a servile parliament, had begun to produce very natural effects upon both of them. It was now three years since the king, to make good his old promises to Anne, and

justify the extraordinary steps he had taken to fulfil them, had secretly gone through a ceremony of marriage with her, and afterwards owned her as his wife. But both knew very well what the world thought of it, and the king was beginning to feel that it would be a serious political obstacle to him if no foreign prince would support him in maintaining the validity of his matrimonial changes. For the emperor would be at Rome in the spring of 1536; and if the pope succeeded in composing differences between him and Francis I., the bull of deprivation would be published, and the English king would have the whole of Europe against him.

Henry is tired of Anne.

Henry was, besides, already tired of a woman whom he had never really respected. Even in January he was heard to say in private in the strictest confidence that he had been seduced into marrying her by witchcraft, and considered it no marriage at all. At that time it was observed that he scarcely spoke to her ten times in three months. And, to make matters worse, on January 29, the very day of Katharine's funeral, she miscarried, and her long-cherished hope of giving the king a son was extinguished.

The fact that not even the Lutherans of Germany were prepared to pronounce Henry's first marriage invalid was perhaps the last straw that made the burden of the second insupportable. Suddenly a blow was struck which showed that Anne was to be queen no longer. On May Day she and Henry were present at a tournament at Greenwich, when the latter left abruptly with six persons in his company and went to Westminster. Next morning she was conveyed from Greenwich by water to the Tower, accused of adultery with her own brother Lord Rochford and with four other persons, who were likewise arrested and sent to the same stronghold. So unpopular was she that many seem to have believed even the monstrous charge of incest against her. Indictments were found in Middlesex and Kent, and she was tried in the Tower before Norfolk as lord high steward and a body of six-and-twenty peers, who concurred in a verdict of guilty. She was sentenced to be burned or beheaded, at the king's option, on Tower Green. Her brother was then sentenced by the same tribunal to suffer a traitor's

Her fall.

death at Tyburn. The case as regards herself had been already prejudged, her alleged accomplices having been sentenced three days before her, and one of them, who had previously confessed the crime, no doubt under fear of torture, had actually pleaded guilty. The accounts given by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, of her conversations during her imprisonment will not lead many people to believe that the accusations against her were just. She was beheaded on the 19th, and, shocking to say, a dispensation was granted that very day by Cranmer to the king to marry Jane Seymour, a lady with whom he had arranged a new match even before Anne's arrest. On the following morning the pair were secretly betrothed to each other, and on the 30th they were married "in the queen's closet at York Place."

Henry marries Jane Seymour.

It is remarkable that the king took steps to annul his marriage with Anne even before she suffered. When she was preparing for death, Cranmer was appointed to be her confessor, and he visited her in the Tower on the 16th, the day after her condemnation. To Cranmer the whole tragedy must have been specially painful. On first hearing of her arrest he had written to the king that he was "clean amazed," and hoped, with his grace's favour, that she might still prove her innocence, as he had never had better opinion of any woman; but as he had loved her for the love which he believed she bore to the Gospel, even so, if she proved guilty, he confessed that all men must hate her as a hypocrite just in proportion to the love they bore to the Gospel. His interview with her, we may take it, did not convince him of her guilt, but apparently he did procure from her a confession of something which served the king's purpose otherwise. What this something was does not appear; but it enabled him next day at Lambeth to declare, in presence of the lord chancellor and a number of lords and gentlemen, of whom Cromwell was one, that the marriage between the king and her was null and void. The sentence given that day was sealed on June 10, and submitted afterwards to both Houses of Convocation, who subscribed it on the 28th; though whether Convocation itself was informed of the particular grounds on which Cranmer pronounced judgment seems very

doubtful. It might have been a pre-contract made by Anne with the Earl of Northumberland, who certainly would have married her at one time had not Wolsey interfered—and though the earl himself had solemnly sworn that no such contract had been made, matters had assuredly come very near it—or it might have been the king's old intrigue with her sister. But apparently it was convenient to keep silence on the matter, and the world, which had been compelled three years before to accept it as a fact, without any knowledge of details, that the marriage had taken place, was now compelled in the same way to accept it as a fact that there had been no true marriage at all.

Perhaps the world was the less careful to inquire because it was heartily glad to get rid of Anne Boleyn on any terms; and there were great hopes now that Henry would outrage Christendom no longer, but at length do justice to his first marriage and to his own true daughter Mary. And so far the general expectation was justified, that the king seemed really willing, but only on certain conditions, to take Mary back into his favour. She was put in hope of this, but was told she must write very submissively to her father, using Cromwell as the medium of communication. But when she had written letter after letter, she still found she must express penitence to her exacting parent for having offended him in the past by refusing to acknowledge the laws by which she was made a bastard. Deputations of lords were sent to her (including one bishop, Sampson, newly made Bishop of Chichester) to urge her to complete submission, which they did with the most unmanly threats. At length, by the advice of the imperial ambassador, with whom she managed by some artifice to communicate, she, as the only means of pacifying her obstinate father, and even preserving her life from danger, signed, without reading it, a paper submitted to her, acknowledging, first, her subjection to his laws; secondly, his supremacy over the Church of England; and thirdly, that his marriage with her mother was an incestuous union, against God's law and man's. We need hardly be told of the deep dejection which Chapuys informs us she suffered after compliance with this unnatural demand. She could really do no better. Others about her,

Mary's submission to her father.

too, had been getting into danger owing to the king's suspicions that they had encouraged her to be refractory; and Lady Husee, the wife of her chamberlain, was severely questioned about having sometimes called her princess by mistake, when by Act of Parliament she was so no longer.

By this most painful submission Mary at length obtained better treatment, and was even after a time restored to her rightful place in the succession, although the legitimacy of her birth was never recognised till she became queen herself. But her place in the succession remained for some time doubtful, when a new Parliament, which met on June 8, entailed the crown on the issue of the king by Jane Seymour, declaring his issue by both of the two previous queens alike illegitimate. The Act, moreover, gave the king the unprecedented power of providing himself by will for the contingency of his having no lawful issue by Jane; and it was generally believed that in that event he intended to name his bastard son, the Duke of Richmond, to succeed before Mary. But the duke died on July 23, five days after that brief Parliament had been dissolved; and it was now generally understood that Mary would succeed after the issue of Queen Jane.

New Act of Succession

In this session some final legislation was passed against papal authority, invalidating all papal bulls, and visiting with the penalties of *præmunire* any preaching or private persuasions in favour of the pope. On the last day of Parliament, Cromwell, who had shortly before been made lord privy seal and then raised to the peerage, took his seat in the House as Lord Cromwell of Wimbledon. But he had already taken a more exalted position in another assembly, from which laymen had hitherto been excluded—that is to say, Convocation. On July 16 one Dr. Petre made his appearance there as his proctor, and claimed the right of presiding; for Cromwell, as the king's vicar-general, had a right to occupy the king's seat, and he, in like manner, as Cromwell's representative. The claim was a novel one, but this Convocation had already been schooled, at its opening, by two Latin sermons from Latimer as to what it might expect. Some years before this, Latimer had been censured for his preaching by Convocation, but it was his turn to lecture

Cromwell in Convocation.

Convocation now. He preached to the assembled bishops, both forenoon and afternoon, from the parable of the Unjust Steward. In the morning he inveighed against purgatory and images and the lack of preaching; in the afternoon he asked them what one single thing they had done these seven years past for the good of the people? They had only, he said, burned a dead man (Tracy) and tried to burn a living one (himself). If the people were better instructed than in times past, was it due to them or to the king, who had admonished them to preach oftener? Had they not been compelled to permit the sale of good books made by lay persons? And he went on to point out that there were abuses in spiritual courts needing reform; that the number of holy days led to idleness and drunkenness; and that images, pilgrimages, and relics served only to encourage superstition.

The clergy, however, proceeded to discuss what things required reform from their own point of view. Dr. Gwent, the prolocutor, laid before the bishops a catalogue of sixty-seven *mala dogmata*, of which the Lower House had complained as having too much currency, and which Fuller, who first published them, considered to contain, amid many extravagances, "the Protestant religion in ore." They were mainly of the old Lollard type, creating disrespect for the sacrament of the altar, denying some other sacraments, questioning the authority of the priesthood, insisting on communion in both kinds, objecting to the honouring of saints, and declaring Our Lady to be no better than another woman. There was a Lutheran denial of the freedom of the will; and among other articles impugning Church authority were one against fasting in Lent, and one against the observance of Church holy days. Some of these views, especially the last, were not unlike what Latimer had inculcated in his sermon; but Convocation condemned them all. Indeed, the Lower House went so far as to complain that books which had been pronounced by a committee of their own body full of heresies had not been expressly condemned by the bishops, and some of them had been allowed to go abroad *cum privilegio*, although they had not been formally sanctioned by the king.

Many of the bishops undoubtedly would have taken action as the Lower House desired; but, besides Archbishop Cranmer

himself, there were bishops of still more recent promotion, like Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, and Edward Foxe of Hereford, now just returned from Germany. And as the king was still feeling his way towards a union with the German Protestants in defence of common principles, he naturally relied upon such bishops to draw up a set of articles setting forth the most essential principles of the Christian faith, which it might be convenient to represent as the sum of all that the Church of England really insisted on. A book of articles, as it was called, was accordingly drawn up, which neither Catholic nor Lutheran could greatly object to; it was signed by Cromwell and the bishops and other leading divines, and was immediately printed by Berthelet and set forth by the king's authority. But this apparently was not carried without some diplomacy in setting apart certain nearly allied questions about the authority of bishops and priests and the nature and number of the sacraments. Here Cromwell availed himself of the services of a Scots divine of the new school, named Alexander Alane, better known as Alesius, once a canon of St. Andrews, whom he had invited over from Belgium in the preceding year, and tried to thrust on the university of Cambridge as a lecturer. He took Alesius with him to the chamber where the bishops were assembled, introduced him to them as the king's scholar, and called on him to state his views as to the meaning of the word sacrament. Alesius gave it freely, citing a number of the fathers to show that there were no sacraments except those instituted by Christ, and that a sacrament must necessarily indicate forgiveness of sins. Bishop Stokesley strongly expressed dissent, and answered him with what Alesius called "his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities." But the bishops, as a body, resented the intrusion of one who had no natural right to take part in their debates; and even Cromwell, yielding to their remonstrances, forbade Alesius to appear again in that assembly, where he had promised to prove next day that the Christian faith rested only on the Bible.

A book of articles;

Such being the external influences brought to bear upon the divines, it is remarkable how little they prevailed. The book of articles, neutral in tone as far as could be, made no distinct breach in the old theology. It affirmed

its character.

much and denied little. It still upheld transubstantiation; set forth three sacraments (baptism, penance, and the eucharist) without saying that there were no more; declared that saints should be honoured, but not as intercessors; favoured the continuance of old rites and ceremonies; and recommended prayers for departed souls, but objected to the speaking of purgatory, a name which had favoured the superstition of papal pardons. That it was not the intention to discredit the four sacraments passed by in silence is clear from the fact that a separate document was drawn up—originally intended, no doubt, to have been incorporated in the book—in favour of the sacrament of holy orders, with instructions how to teach it to the people, and that this was actually signed by Cromwell himself, as well as by most of the bishops and a considerable number of divines. Thus, it would seem, it was all but authorised; but although it received Cromwell's signature, it was probably, on full consideration, not found desirable for the king's purpose to set it forth, for there is no evidence that it was printed at this time. Apparently the king found it best, for the present, to keep theology as quiescent as possible; and on July 12, the day after the book of articles was approved, he issued a circular to the bishops ordering that, with the view of avoiding contentions, there should be no preaching in any pulpits till Michaelmas, except by the bishops themselves, or in their cathedrals by persons for whom they would be answerable, all previous licences being withdrawn.

Eight days later a judgment was obtained from the Convocation in the king's behalf on the subject of general councils. The "Bishop of Rome," it was declared, had no right to summon such a council without the consent of other Christian princes—especially of such as had within their own realms an *imperium merum*, independent of any other supreme authority. This was a sound principle, no doubt, seeing that it was impossible that any so-called general council should be universally respected without such consent of princes. But its enunciation was not less certainly convenient; for Henry, having himself appealed on one subject from the pope to a general council, was now anxious to establish the principle that no such council should meet without his sanction. Finally,

Judgment concerning general councils.

Convocation agreed to one point that had been touched upon in Latimer's opening sermon—the restriction of the number of holy days. To prevent these festivals ministering to idleness, and especially to prevent their interfering with harvest work, a certain number were abrogated, and the feast of dedication of a church was ordered always to be kept upon the first Sunday in October. On August 11, royal letters were addressed to the bishops to give effect to this Act.

In the course of the same month Cromwell, as the king's vicar-general, issued a curious set of injunctions to be observed by the deans and clergy having cure of souls. These refer first to the book of articles, of which it is observed one part sets forth articles to be believed for our salvation, the rest being only concerned with ceremonies and decent order in the Church. Strange to say, the clergy are here ordered to preach (no notice being taken of the previous inhibition) and set forth what articles were necessary for salvation and what were unnecessary but concerned order merely. They were to urge people not to observe the "superstitious holidays" now abrogated; they were not to extol images, relics, or miracles, and they were to discourage pilgrimages. They were to enjoin parents and others to teach the Paternoster, the articles of the faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. And other regulations were added affecting the clergy themselves, partly to regulate their conduct, partly to burden them with impositions. A fortieth of their income was to go to the poor, and a fifth part was to be bestowed on the repair of their own churches and parsonages. Those of higher position were to support a scholar at Oxford or Cambridge for every £100 of their incomes.

Cromwell's injunctions.

These injunctions raise some difficulties. A copy printed by Foxe contains an additional article, not apparently in the copy on Cranmer's register, requiring "every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm" to provide before the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula next coming a whole Bible in Latin and also in English and lay them in the choir for any one to read. This might be taken for an interpolation—all the more because as yet there was no authorised printed Bible. And surely if a MS. Bible was intended, the

demand must have been difficult to meet, even when a year was allowed for compliance; for the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula next coming would be August 1, 1537. But there is no doubt that the clause is genuine, for it occurs in a black-letter copy of these injunctions printed by Berthelet,[1] though perhaps the difficulty of compliance may have caused it afterwards to be withdrawn. The authority at this time ruling seems to have changed its mind continually. Orders to preach and not to preach at the same time are a little perplexing. One thing only seems clear, that while these injunctions were partly founded on the articles agreed on by Convocation, the object was to carry further than Convocation would have sanctioned the lowering of Church ordinances and Church authority. This, of course, also tended to increase at the same time the power of the king's vicegerent. A warning, however, was presently given of the danger of pressing matters too far.

Commissions touching the monasteries.

The first steps towards the dissolution of the smaller monasteries had already been taken in the spring soon after the passing of the Act. A new survey was, in the first place, ordered to ascertain by commissioners in each county the values of the different houses, the number of the religious, the characters they bore, and how many were willing to accept capacities to go to other houses. The commissioners were also to take stock of the plate in each house and value the woods belonging to it. With some exceptions certainly, but not very numerous, they found the inmates of good repute in the country—not at all such characters as Cromwell's visitors had made them out. Rough measures, however, seem to have been taken to turn many of them out; for the imperial ambassador understood that thousands were wandering about without knowing how they should live. The king's agents were stripping the fabrics of their bells and lead, and leaving the solid masonry in some cases to be used as a quarry for the sale of stones.

[1] This I have seen myself bound up in the MS. volume 121 (p. 433) in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The date of issue of these injunctions is not shown in the document except as regards the year, blanks being left for the month and day of the month. The same blanks occur also in the copy on Cranmer's register printed by Burnet and by Wilkins after him. But a copy in the Record Office gives August as the month of issue.

Such sweeping measures were dangerous. There were some monasteries especially almost essential to the wants of their respective localities; and Archbishop Lee of York pleaded hard that the priory of Hexham, in Northumberland, might be allowed to stand. Situated in a bare country, there was not a house between it and Scotland in some directions, and in time of border warfare it was of special service. The representation was unheeded; and when the commissioners came thither in the end of September, the town bell was rung, and the canons, preparing to resist by force, compelled them to withdraw.

In Lincolnshire, by the end of September, the monasteries of Louth Park and Legbourne had just been dissolved when commissioners for a parliamentary subsidy came into the neighbourhood. This was felt to be a little too much. Besides the dissolution of monasteries there were rumours that a general confiscation of crosses and church plate was contemplated, so that processions with the church cross borne in front were to be discontinued, and holidays were to be suppressed; even parish churches, it was believed, would be very much diminished. And now came the tax-gatherers as well. Lincolnshire broke out into general insurrection and demanded the restoration of monasteries, the removal of heretical bishops like Cranmer and Latimer, and the punishment of wicked ministers like Cromwell and Rich. The insurgents professed entire loyalty to the king, to whom they sent two deputies to state their case. Country gentlemen were compelled to take an oath to stand by them, and perhaps felt no great reluctance. The king, after some days of intense anxiety, during which he had intended to take the field himself, was relieved to find that the insurgents had shown signs of submission on a message sent them by the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Lincolnshire rebellion.

But before Lincolnshire was quite pacified Yorkshire was up in arms, and the conflagration soon extended over all the north of England. Robert Aske, the leader of the Yorkshire movement, obtained easy possession of York city. The Archbishop of York and the principal gentry retreated into Pomfret Castle, which held out for the king for a short time under Lord Darcy,

The pilgrimage of grace, Oct. 1536.

while in the west the Earl of Cumberland was besieged in Skipton Castle. But Darcy presently gave up Pomfret to Robert Aske; and when Lancaster herald came thither from the king with a proclamation to contradict disturbing rumours, Aske would not let him read it, even when he fell on his knees before him to desire leave to execute his commission. Aske told him they were going up to London to insist on demands on which they were all agreed. They would have the vile blood removed from the king's Council, the faith of Christ respected, and the wrongs of the Church redressed.

The Duke of Norfolk was at that very time marching northwards to join Shrewsbury and other nobles in putting down the rebellion. But on reaching Doncaster he found that the rebel forces were overwhelming, and he was obliged, very unwillingly, to make a truce with them (October 27), promising a general pardon to induce them to disband, while Sir Ralph Ellerker and Robert Bowes went with him to the king to set forth their demands. These two were detained somewhat over a fortnight, during which time the men of the north were impatient, and had nearly held a council or parliament of their own at York; but at length they brought back an answer from the king, studiously conceived to tide over the emergency. In reply to their three chief points, Henry said that he had done nothing to disturb the faith of Christ; and as to the Church of England, he had acted simply by law for the benefit of his subjects; nor was there less noble blood in his Council than at the beginning of his reign.

The king's letter to the bishops.

While writing thus to the Commons, he at the same time visited upon the bishops his deep mortification at these appeals being made to him about religion. He reminded them that he had admonished them before to remedy diversity of opinions by preaching God's word "sincerely," declaring abuses plainly and avoiding contentions about things indifferent. Yet so little attention had been paid to his warning that he had been obliged to "put his own pen to the book," and conceive articles that were agreed on by Convocation as catholic and meet to be set forth, and he had imagined no one would have been remiss in setting them forth. His object, however, had been defeated by seditious persons,

who had used contemptuous words and raised these insurrections. The bishops must, therefore, themselves read the articles every holy day in their cathedrals or whatever churches they attended, and must go in person through their dioceses, declaring the obedience due by God's law to the sovereign as supreme, whose commands ought not to be resisted, even if they were unjust. They must also commend everywhere all the "honest" ceremonies of the Church so that they might not be contemned, and yet show how they were instituted, that the people might not put too much trust in them.

On the return of Ellerker and Bowes to the north a council was held at York to consider whether the king's answer was satisfactory; for Norfolk was coming down again to meet the northern gentry at Doncaster, with a view to a final settlement, and the issues of peace and civil war hung in the balance. It was thought well that there should be a meeting of the Commons at Pomfret just before that with the duke at Doncaster, and that the northern clergy should be summoned to a sort of convocation at the former place to give their advice on matters of religion. The meeting at Doncaster being ultimately arranged for December 5, that at Pomfret took place on the 2nd. The grievances generally felt were, first, the Act of Royal Supremacy, which seemed to cut off England from the Church Catholic; then the suppression of monasteries, the declaration of the Princess Mary's illegitimacy, and the statutes of uses and of first-fruits—things which seemed quite subversive of old constitutional principles in Church and State. The Commons wished to know from the clergy if there were no just cause for fighting. The Archbishop of York took alarm. He had already yielded to the Commons when Darcy surrendered Pomfret, and must have been expected to preside in the new Convocation. He went thither, and on Sunday the 3rd preached in Pomfret parish church, declaring that there was no cause to be alarmed about the faith, which the king had safeguarded by the book of articles, and that no man could ever be justified in fighting except by the king's authority. His hearers were disappointed, and he himself was subjected to some ill-treatment afterwards. The Convocation proceeded to pass resolutions in favour of papal

Meeting of the clergy at Pomfret.

supremacy and papal dispensations, condemning the punishment of clergymen by the civil power, and other recent innovations; demanding, also, the restoration of all clergymen who had opposed the royal supremacy.

Such demands, involving as they did the repeal of some Acts of Parliament, offered no great prospect of an easy settlement. Norfolk could only make an interim arrangement, and he was fully alive to the necessity of doing so. He was empowered to promise that there should speedily be a free parliament in the north of England, in which all matters of complaint should be discussed; and meanwhile he and Fitzwilliam agreed that the monks of suppressed monasteries should still obtain food and clothing from the lands of their houses. It was said afterwards that they had not promised this on the king's behalf, but only promised to sue to the king that he would grant it. But with these and some other supposed stipulations Aske and his friends were satisfied. They had called their movement a "pilgrimage for grace," and they now tore off their badges and crosses marked with the five wounds of Christ, declaring, "We will wear no badge nor sign, but the badge of our sovereign lord."

The rebels pacified.

Thus the danger at home was for the time abated. But there was danger from abroad as well. It is true, Francis and the emperor were at war, and an immediate combination against England was not to be dreaded. One high-minded Englishman, however, who from his early days had been an object of the king's particular favour, and who was even now his well-wisher, though with feelings sorely tried, had obeyed a call from the pope to come to Rome instead of returning to his native country. For the pope had need of Reginald Pole, and, though Pole himself would fain have been excused, made him a cardinal on December 22. How this affected Henry from the first moment that he heard of it, a few words may be required to show.

Pole, as we have already seen, had received a first-rate education at the king's expense, for which he was sincerely grateful. He was a renowned scholar, and Henry would have been particularly glad to get his opinion in favour of the divorce. But this he could not approve of, and he was not to

be bribed by rich bishoprics into taking the king's part. So he got leave to go abroad once more in 1532. Three years later Henry endeavoured to lure him again to England, through a chaplain named Thomas Starkey, who had been with him abroad, and through whom the king requested his opinion on royal supremacy over the Church. He was asked to write with perfect candour; for even if he could not agree with the king's views, the king would find worthy employment for him if he would return to England. For his guidance, however, Starkey wrote copious suggestions, and a copy of Dean Sampson's book on the supremacy was sent to him. He determined to do as requested, but he could only express what he thought upon the subject in an elaborate treatise, which took more than a year to compose; and while Starkey indulged in unwarranted hopes that he would give the king satisfaction, Pole made no sign. During that time occurred the martyrdoms of the Carthusians, of Fisher and of More; and even Starkey had misgivings as to the effect they might have upon him. At length the work was finished; and on May 27, 1536, he forwarded to the king the MS. of his great treatise, afterwards published with the title *De Unitate Ecclesiastica.*

Pole's book.

He sent it in obedience to the king's own request, but with very little hope of making him change his mind. He informed him, however, by the messenger, that the MS. was for his own eye merely, and he had not intended any of it to get abroad till the king had seen it, though unfortunately two sheets of the draft had been mislaid, which, however, were soon afterwards recovered. In the book itself he expressed the great difficulty he felt in writing when others had been punished with death for their loyalty; but he acknowledged special obligations to the king, and would not write against his conscience. He made a severe reply to Sampson's argument, and set before the king's own eyes a picture of the frightful cruelties he had inflicted upon the true defenders of the faith within his kingdom. He hoped now, even against hope, that the king might yet repent, and towards the end of the treatise he warned him even of temporal danger that might follow excommunication; for he had continually plundered his nobility, and never loved his people.

The few councillors to whom Henry submitted the book for perusal were staggered at such a rebuke administered by a subject. The king himself concealed his indignation, and invited Pole to return and discuss their differences quietly in England. Pole replied that the severity of the king's own laws made that imprudent, and he prepared to go to Rome on the pope's summons. But he very nearly abandoned his purpose when a messenger from England overtook him at Verona with letters, not only from Cromwell, written in the king's name, full of fearful threats, and from Bishop Tunstall, suggesting that more obedience was due to the king than to the pope, but, what was most heartrending, from his own mother and brother, declaring that he would be the ruin of his family, and threatening to renounce him if he gave more offence. He was persuaded, however, by two Italian bishops, whom he made his special confidants, that not even filial love should divert him from a course which, they said, would be all the more for the glory of Christ if it involved a sacrifice of feeling. And so he went to Rome, and became a cardinal. His advice had been desired by the pope about the proposed general council, and he was placed on a committee to draw up a scheme for the reform of the Church's discipline; for the impurities prevailing even at the very centre of Church government were notorious. But another great office was reserved for him, and in February following (1537) he was created legate. In this capacity he certainly inspired for the moment as much terror in the king as the king could inspire in him, for the embers of discontent were still smouldering in the north of England. James V. of Scotland was in Paris, where he had just been married to the French king's daughter, Madeleine; and his trusty councillor, David Beton, who was with him, had secret information that an invasion of England by the Scots, if it were in the pope's cause, would be favoured by many English lords. Let a legate pass through France and get near the English Channel, and it would require but little suasion to bring pretty strong coercion to bear upon Henry himself.

How Henry received it.

Pole is made cardinal and legate.

In January 1537 the king, seeing that menaces had better be dropped, made his Council write to Pole a letter, with all their

signatures attached, reproaching him, indeed, with ingratitude and unseemly language towards his sovereign, but taking up a suggestion in one of his own letters that his points of difference with Henry might be discussed by him with deputies of the king in Flanders—a course which they said they would favour if he would go thither of himself without a commission from any one else. Pole received this letter at Rome just before setting out on his mission, and wrote in his answer a very complete justification of himself as a man whose exile was really due to his regard for the king's honour, certainly not from any desire to asperse it. He repudiated an insinuation that as cardinal he had become councillor to the king's enemy, for never pope had more regard to the king and realm than this pope (Paul III.). As to the proposed conference, he was now cardinal and legate, and had obtained the pope's leave to meet whom they would, either in Flanders or in France.

Meanwhile there had been renewed disturbances in the north of England, owing to serious mistrust of the king's good faith. Aske, indeed, had been quite won over by royal urbanity and condescension (the king, after the pacification at Doncaster, having called him up to a conference), and he tried to assure everybody else that the king himself was most anxious to redress their grievances. Henry, he said, would go a progress northward, hold a parliament at York, and have the new queen, Jane Seymour, crowned there. But there were evident preparations to keep the country down by force of arms, and the promises both of a general pardon and of a parliament, on examination, turned out rather unsatisfactory. No time was appointed for the parliament, and a man could only obtain the benefit of the general pardon by suing out of Chancery a particular pardon for himself, in which he would have to recognise the king as Head of the Church. The change of government which the rebels had hoped for was as far off as ever. Cromwell was as powerful as before, and the stipulations of Doncaster had already been violated in one point by the levying of a tenth upon the clergy.

Renewed disturbances in the north.

So Aske, on his return from the king in January, could do little to reassure the people. It was rumoured that

ordnance was being sent by night to Hull, and that garrisons would be placed there and at Scarborough. A plot was accordingly formed by Sir Francis Bigod and one John Hallom for taking both these places beforehand. It failed completely, and Bigod fled. Riots then broke out in Westmoreland, and an attempt was made upon Carlisle. On its failure, 6000 insurgents submitted to the king's mercy, and Norfolk, who had again been sent to the north, at once took seventy-four to be hanged by martial law, and dismissed the rest without promise of pardon. This was the beginning of a series of butcheries all over the northern counties such as had never before been seen. The ordinary criminal law was at the same time strained against abbots who had been reinstated in their monasteries, or even mixed up unwillingly in the movement. In Lancashire the Abbots of Sawley and Whalley were hanged. The Abbot of Furness found it prudent to surrender his house. A number of the Lincolnshire rebels, among whom were Dr. Mackerell, Prior of Barlings, and four other priests, were sent up to London, where they were tried, hanged, and quartered. Lord Darcy and Lord Hussey were likewise sent up to suffer the penalty of treason, and so were Aske, Sir Thomas Percy (the Earl of Northumberland's brother), Sir Francis Bigod, and a number of prominent Yorkshiremen besides. With them also were condemned and suffered Adam Sedbergh, Abbot of Jervaulx, William Thirske, quondam Abbot of Fountains, and William Wood, Prior of Bridlington. London had seen in February the rightful Earl of Kildare and his five uncles brutally despatched at Tyburn under a special act of attainder; in March it saw the Lincolnshire rebels suffer; in May and June the principal leaders of Yorkshire. But Aske, Hussey, and others were sent back to their own districts to suffer there. It is needless to say that the convictions were procured by intimidation, and that quiet was restored by terror.

Unfortunately for the liberties of Englishmen, the rebellion had already been crushed before Pole had left Italy on his legatine mission. Words were treason, the old immunities of the clergy were disregarded, and there was no help anywhere. Moreover, Pole's mission even in foreign lands was paralysed by the power of

Failure of Pole's mission.

Henry VIII. As he was going through France, Henry demanded that Francis should give him up as a traitor. Such a demand was simply monstrous. Francis could not affront the Holy See and lay hands on an ambassador to please Henry; but he avoided receiving the legate himself, and hinted to him that his presence in France was undesirable; so that Pole, after making a public entry into Paris, withdrew to Cambray, where he waited long for a safe-conduct from Mary, Queen of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. For here, too, the English ambassador demanded his delivery if he should pass through imperial territory; and Mary, quite as unwilling as Francis to offend the King of England, while protesting that she could not refuse to see a papal legate, was glad, nevertheless, to send an escort to convey him hurriedly to Liege, where the peculiar jurisdiction of the Cardinal Bishop of Liege protected him from any further demands for his extradition, and, it may be added, from attempts upon his life, which was openly threatened by agents of the king. His mission was thus a complete failure, and in August he set out on his return to Rome.

Is innocent blood ever shed in vain? Is suffering as fruitless as it sometimes seems to be? Followers of the Cross cannot suppose so. Henry VIII. was a despot who succeeded, as few despots have done, in oppressing and slaughtering his own subjects to gratify his own self-will, without interference either from powers at home or from abroad. But even he had to be cautious and make some retreats. He had been driven out of his impossible attempt to obtain respect for his marriage with Anne Boleyn; he had been made to feel the inconvenience of encouraging heresy; and though he had crippled the synodical action of the Church and had bishops of his own making to support him, his desire to ally himself with the Germans did not elicit from Convocation anything whatever like a breach with old Catholic principles. In theology the tide seemed rather setting the other way; and after all the restraints upon the action of the clergy, he found it necessary to summon a meeting of bishops and divines at Westminster to revise the book of articles passed in the preceding year, with a view to making good its deficiencies. The bishops began to assemble in February and continued their

discussions till the middle of July. The question particularly came up about the four sacraments left unnoticed in that book, and presently it was announced that, after much discussion among the bishops, those four sacraments were "found again." With this settlement, indeed, the work of that particular Convocation came to a conclusion, the result of its labours being a treatise called *The Institution of a Christian Man.* It was divided into four parts, being expositions, first, of the Apostles' Creed; second, of the Seven Sacraments; third, of the Ten Commandments; and fourth, of the *Paternoster* and *Ave*, with two separate articles added from the former book, the first on Justification and the second on Purgatory. Justification was set forth as due entirely to the merits of Christ, but involving an obligation to good works afterwards; and the Romish doctrine of purgatory was repudiated, but prayers for departed souls were declared to be laudable.

The Bishops' Book.

Such was the result of no small controversy among the bishops of the old school and the new; for besides Cranmer and Latimer, the king had of late years, under the Anne Boleyn influence, raised to the bench Shaxton, Barlow, and Foxe, distinctly on account of their Lutheran propensities. To Foxe was committed by Cromwell the task of writing a preface to the book; in which he declared that it represented a final and unanimous agreement of the bishops and divines assembled, but that they submitted it to his Majesty's correction, in case he found anything requiring further explanation. It was hoped that it would go forth with the king's authority. The king, however, had no desire to take the responsibility for doctrine out of the hands of his divines, and informed the bishops that he had no time fully to examine it, but, trusting to their wisdom, was willing that it should be published and read to the people on Sundays and holy days during the next three years. It was accordingly issued in September, and came to be known as "the Bishops' Book."

Meanwhile, in August, a much more remarkable work—a complete English Bible in print—had suddenly made its appearance. Bishops and divines had not been consulted about this, and when it appeared they had been detained longer than they liked in the neighbourhood of London, where the plague was rife. Cranmer

An English Bible, 1537.

himself had got away down to Kent, where, apparently, a copy of the new volume had been brought to him. He wrote to Cromwell that he liked it better than any other translation, and thought it ought to be licensed to be read by everybody, till the bishops could set forth a better—"which I think," he enthusiastically adds, "will not be till a day after doomsday!" What version can this be that gives Cranmer such unqualified satisfaction?

Tyndale's New Testament had been denounced from the first, and had been burned in St. Paul's churchyard—with the result, as we have seen, that he was enabled to print new editions with the money by which the copies had been bought up. The attempt to suppress the book naturally strikes us as a ludicrous and obvious mistake. Yet with hearty co-operation of governments abroad whole editions might really have been suppressed, and apparently were so. Of the quarto the printing of which was interrupted at Cologne, there remains at this day but a fragment of one single copy; of the second edition in octavo a whole copy exists, but it is unique. Things took a new turn, however, when it was seen that the king really encouraged the sort of literature that he publicly denounced as heretical and mischievous. In a proclamation against erroneous books issued in June 1530, it is stated that there was a very prevalent opinion as to the necessity of having an English translation both of the New Testament and of the Old, but that the king, after consultation with the two primates and other divines, declared this to be unnecessary, and, for the time at least, inexpedient. So strong, it was said, was the tendency then to erroneous opinions, that Holy Scripture had better be left for the present to the preachers to expound, as hitherto. But hereafter, if the people should "utterly abandon and forsake" these perverse opinions, his Highness intended to provide that the Bible should be translated into English "by great learned and Catholic persons" when it seemed to him expedient. Everything was thus left to the Defender of the Faith, who, nevertheless, was reckoning all the while on the services that might be done to him by zealots bent on assailing those doctrines and ordinances of the Church for which they could find no warrant in an infallible book.

Desire for an authorised version.

Tyndale's Testament was the work of an enthusiast possessed by the idea that the Bible must be the one sole rule for Christians, and that it must be expounded literally, not with those different kinds of meaning—allegorical, anagogical, and so forth—in which scholastic divines indulged. It was all simply and literally true, and had but one meaning. Tyndale, moreover, quite set aside the Vulgate and translated the book from its original language into English, that he might make every peasant as wise as the greatest divine. That, he said, was his express object; and it was an object intolerable to pious minds of the old school. For we must remember, when reading More's bitter attacks on Tyndale, that the arguments of biblical devotees encouraged a spirit of irreverence and profanity which not only shocked the devout Catholic world, but was really dangerous to the peace of society. Crucifixes and other images were spoken of as "idols"; their destruction even by private hands was a work of piety, and if men got hanged for such enterprises they were martyrs. Lollardy prompted men to outrage the consecrated host itself. This dangerous spirit, moreover, received encouragement even from the king; and as the breach between him and the pope went on, the public became accustomed to exhibitions of the most disgusting ribaldry got up for his special satisfaction in order to throw contempt upon popes and cardinals.

Tyndale's ruling idea.

The boon of an English Bible is invaluable; but we do great injustice even to the bishops of those days if we regard them as enemies to all novelty and freshness in biblical study. The bishops generally, and Archbishop Warham in particular, had regarded with the utmost satisfaction Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament—a work which did quite as great violence as that of Tyndale to mere old-fashioned prejudice. But then it was a work for scholars, composed without any special bias, merely to show what the best criticism of the day could do to elucidate the sacred writings; whereas that of Tyndale was, even in the eyes of Sir Thomas More, a mischievous perversion of those writings intended to advance heretical opinions. Old English translations had existed before Tyndale, and even before Wycliffe's day; but when such familiar terms as "priests," "church," and

"charity" were replaced by "seniors" or "elders," "congregation," and "love"; when "do penance" had become "repent," and a good many other changes of like character had been introduced, it was evident that the design was to depreciate the authority of an ordained priesthood and of an organised Church. And Tyndale, having begun with the New Testament, made some progress towards a complete translation of the whole Bible; for in 1530 he published the Pentateuch, and in 1531 the book of Jonah. In the midst of his labours, however, he was deserted by his secretary, George Joye, who in 1533 began to print a separate edition of the book of Genesis, of which he sent one copy to the king and another to the new queen, Anne Boleyn, hoping to obtain a royal licence for himself to print the whole Bible. Next year, on a pretence which he afterwards put forward, that Tyndale himself was dilatory about the work, and that the Dutch printers were issuing unauthorised reprints disfigured by bad typographical errors, he corrected and revised a new edition of Tyndale's Testament, making some passages apparently more in accordance with the Vulgate, but certainly altering some relating to the Resurrection in a manner totally unwarranted by any authority whatever. What made the matter worse was that he knew that Tyndale was then engaged in revising the work himself. No wonder, then, that the latter was indignant when he found his design anticipated by a corrupt edition of his own version, edited by one who knew no Greek, and acted merely as a bookseller's hack. His own new edition, however, appeared soon afterwards, and it was marked by a great advance in accuracy as well as smoothness of diction on all that had preceded it.

George Joye.

Yet another translator now entered the field, by name Miles Coverdale. He was, like Dr. Barnes, originally an Augustinian friar of Cambridge, and had acted as Barnes's secretary when he was accused before Wolsey. Encouraged, or perhaps commissioned, by Cromwell, to whom he applied for books to assist him, he had spent years upon the task abroad, and produced in October 1535 a complete English Bible, declared upon the title-page to be translated "out of Dutch [*i.e.* German] and Latin into

Coverdale's Bible.

English," with a dedication to Henry VIII. It was apparently a translation from the Vulgate made by comparison with Luther's, and perhaps other translations; for of the original Hebrew and Greek Coverdale took no account. Its appearance, if it had only been a satisfactory performance, ought to have been opportune; for in December 1534 the Convocation of Canterbury had petitioned the king not only for the suppression of heretical English books, but for an authorised translation of the Bible into English. But it evidently could not have given satisfaction to the Convocation of 1536, which asked for a new translation, and its sale does not appear to have been authorised till 1537, when the name of Queen Anne had to be awkwardly altered into Queen Jane in the dedication.

Cromwell's order to provide Bibles in churches, at first inserted in the injunctions of 1536, was perhaps intended to promote the sale of Coverdale's Bible. The Bible, however, which pleased Cranmer so much in August 1537 was another Bible yet. The printing of this seems to have been begun abroad, but, after Isaiah had been completed, to have been continued in London. Prefixed was a dedication to the king from one Thomas Matthew, whom some suspect to have been really John Rogers, the martyr of Mary's reign. But it was not in fact a new translation at all. The first books of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New, were a reprint of Tyndale's; the rest was Coverdale's text with some alterations. Tyndale had by this time died a martyr's death in Belgium, having been burned as a heretic at Vilvorde on October 6, 1536, and his work still bore ill repute in England. On Cranmer's recommendation, however, what was once condemned was approved for publication under another name. Richard Grafton, the printer, obtained a licence to sell it; and in the following year it was ordered to be supplied everywhere in churches.

Matthew's Bible.

AUTHORITIES.—Calendar of Henry VIII. vols. x.-xii.; Calendar (Venetian) vol. v., interesting at this period mainly for its abstracts of Pole's letters, which, however, are printed by Quirini; Wilkins, vol. iii. For Anne Boleyn's threats about Mary see Ortiz to Granvelle, Nov. 22, 1535, in Spanish Calendar, vol. i. no. 231; Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*; Statutes 28 Henry VIII.; Latimer's *Sermons* (Parker Soc.), Camb. 1844-45; his Latin sermon to Convocation in 1536 was published in 1537. The account given by Alesius himself (in his work *Of the Auctorite of the Word of God*) of the part he

took in the debates in Convocation dates the occurrence "1537," but the character of the debate, and the reference to Bishop Foxe as having then just come from Germany, seem to prove that it really took place in 1536. Fuller's *Church History* (Brewer's ed.), iii. 128; Pole's *De Unitate Ecclesiastica;* Demaus's *Life of Tyndale* (Lovett's ed.); Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, and Histories of the same by Westcott and Moulton. For the king's encouragement of ribaldry see a passage in Du Bellay's account of the relations of the pope and the King of England, printed in Hamy's *Entrevue* (Documents, p. ccclxxviii.).

CHAPTER XI

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES

On October 12, 1537, Queen Jane Seymour gave birth to a son at Hampton Court, who was christened on the following Monday, the 15th, before a comparatively small company of nobles, on account of a prevailing epidemic. He received the name of Edward, having been born on St. Edward's Eve. His mother died on the 24th after much suffering. The result of these two events was, in the first place, to give Henry a son and heir of undoubted legitimacy, and, secondly, to set him free to negotiate or receive offers for a new matrimonial alliance, and thus to hold the balance between Francis and the emperor by inspiring each of them with jealousy of the other's advances. This policy he pursued, keeping himself free of matrimonial engagements for two years; but the record of his dealings on either side does not concern Church history. What is of more importance is a renewed effort on the king's part to arrive at an understanding with the Lutherans of Germany, who, indeed, were now quite at one with him on the subject of the proposed general council, and who, if only their agreement could have extended to matters of doctrine, might have formed an enduring alliance with him against both pope and emperor.

Birth of Edward VI.

On October 12, 1536, Pope Paul III. had formally summoned a general council to be held at Mantua on May 23 following. But to the delight of Henry and the German Protestants, unlooked-for obstacles arose. The Duke of Mantua refused the council permission to meet there unless he were allowed a military force to protect

The intended general council.

the city, with pay for its support. It was not quite easy for the pope to meet such a demand at a time when Italy was in fear of invasion from the Turk ; but there was even a stronger objection to his doing so in the fact that it would have looked like coercion of the council itself. A bull was accordingly issued on April 20, 1537, proroguing its assembly to November 1. On this Henry published a manifesto in English and in Latin, of which several German translations appeared in that and the following year, throwing contempt upon the whole project as one-sided, unjust, and ridiculous. John Frederic of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, endorsed this view with their warm approval. The council, they said, was summoned only to defend papal authority, and the pope must not be accepted as a judge in his own cause. The pope changed the place of meeting to Vicenza, but the German Protestants, who assembled at Brunswick early in 1538, found that place as objectionable as Mantua, and agreed to send divines to England, who arrived in the summer, with a view to a league in defence of a common faith.

Feeling in England as to religious doctrine.

How far were the people of England by this time imbued with German heresies? From the northern rebellion one might be disposed to answer, not at all. But though the northern rebels had their southern sympathisers, the more populous south, and particularly large towns like London and Bristol, undoubtedly harboured a great amount of heresy. Mere abstract doctrines, however, have always been slow to affect public opinion in England ; and while, doubtless, many minds were unsettled about transubstantiation, more practical objections were found to what many called "purgatory pick-purse," masses for the dead, and prayers to saints, and pilgrimages—things which involved action, or payments to the clergy. Discontent with these things, as we have seen, received an additional stimulus from the king's attitude towards the Church during Anne Boleyn's time ; and at Whitsuntide 1534, in obedience to State policy, Cranmer issued a pastoral to his clergy, declaring these doctrines and practices (together with the marriage of priests) to be so far doubtful that he enjoined them to keep silence on such subjects for a whole year, during which time he intended to give a decision concerning them. It does not

appear that he redeemed his promise—certainly not within the time. Matters seem to have remained in suspense till the death of Katharine of Aragon in January 1536; shortly after which the king, being inclined, apparently, to change his policy, issued orders against the preaching of novel opinions. But four days later he changed his mind again, and gave an order to the contrary effect, encouraging particularly preaching against the pope, and all kinds of lampoons and caricatures to bring his Holiness into contempt. Then came the fall of Anne Boleyn and a brief expectation that it would lead to a reconciliation with Rome; but, as we have seen, it only led on to the book of articles, and a year later to the *Institution of a Christian Man*, the responsibility for which the king left with the bishops, till he was assured which way the wind blew. On the whole, however, the tendency was to the maintenance of the old beliefs, which he had no desire to set aside gratuitously. But the dissolution of the monasteries, already authorised before Anne Boleyn's fall, and unpopular as it certainly was, found a justification in many minds on the ground that belief in purgatory was a superstition; for on that belief these houses to a large extent depended for support.

The dissolution of the small monasteries being authorised by Parliament (under whatever pressure the Act was passed), had of course to be carried out. But the northern rebellion had stayed the process for a while over a considerable part of the country, and policy suggested a good number of exemptions from suppression, for which considerable sums were paid into the exchequer. Founders had sometimes prepared their own tombs beside those of their ancestors in these sacred retreats, and were willing to pay gratuities that the houses might stand. A no less touching appeal was made for the priory of Pentney, because the prior relieved such a number of indigent poor. But appeals without gifts to back them up were not favourably received, and Pentney was suppressed. Even in August 1536, however, the king had begun to grant to particular monasteries licences to continue, on payment of substantial fees, and the granting of such licences went on for nearly a whole year after. Two monasteries he actually refounded, the nunnery of Stixwold in Lincolnshire and the

Special licences given to small monasteries to continue.

monastery of Bisham in Berkshire, the former in July and the latter in December 1537; the Abbot of Chertsey having been induced to surrender his house that its lands might go to the augmentation of the new abbey of Bisham, which had hitherto been only a priory. As yet there was no talk of a general suppression of monasteries; or if such a thing was hinted at it, was denied to be in contemplation.

It may, indeed, be true that at first the king really intended to content himself with the suppression of the smaller monasteries—the new foundation of Bisham seems evidence to that effect — but a course of confiscation, once begun, carries a despot further than he himself anticipates. And the very mode in which the new foundation of Bisham was effected—by the surrender of the great monastery of Chertsey —suggested a more insidious process of obtaining the abbey lands without further legislation. Surrenders could be effected with comparative ease, for, under severe regulations imposed at royal visitations, the old monastic life had really become difficult to maintain. And however little men loved royal authority over the Church, it was certainly a question which perplexed some consciences, whether resistance was even justifiable; for if the king took upon him this responsibility of supreme headship and had so much power to make his position respected, was it not, after all, a right thing to obey?

Surrenders of larger monasteries taken.

A stricter view, no doubt, had been taken by the Carthusians. Of all the orders of monks (not including the friars) it was they who had met the new tyranny with the greatest steadfastness. Not even the martyrdoms of 1535 had quenched the spirit of the remaining brethren, and new measures had been adopted. One or two of the monks, indeed, had been conquered, and were willing to be released from the severities of an order which, even when left unmolested, practised a rule of life hard to be borne by most men. Cromwell set over the London house as successor to the martyred Houghton one William Trafford, who had been converted to royal supremacy from his once outspoken declaration against it. Four of the monks were transferred to other houses of the same order; but two of these, John Rochester and James Walworth, having

The remaining Charterhouse monks.

been sent to Hull, were found to have sheltered rebels (so called) in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and, continuing to deny the king's supremacy, were hanged at York in the spring of 1537. A week later—on May 18—Prior Trafford got twenty of the remaining brethren in London to join him in an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, repudiating papal authority. On June 10 he surrendered the monastery to the king. Meanwhile ten of the monks who had been immovable in their opposition to the supremacy had been cast into Newgate, where they were bound in chains, and nine of them succumbed one after another to starvation, disease, and dirt. The tenth, who apparently had a stronger constitution, lived to be a martyr four years later.

If the Carthusians could not hold their own against the king, what body of "religious" could? If resistance was sure to be futile, why should men resist? Responsibility must always rest with him who has absolute power, and dares to go all lengths. Disregard of monastic vows was sad enough, but a perpetual succession of martyrdoms was impossible, especially when dear friends and relations urged the claims of another allegiance and the justification of quiet submission. Consciences were sorely troubled, and some of the most impartial gave different verdicts. "Good fathers," said the aged John Fewterer, confessor-general of Sion, to eight monks of the London Charterhouse who had been sent to attend his deathbed, "I implore your forgiveness, for I am guilty of the blood of your reverend father-prior. I encouraged him in his resolution to die in the cause for which he suffered, and to which you still adhere. Now, however, I am of another mind, and I perceive that the cause is not one for which we are bound to suffer death." Father Fewterer had already been won over to preach the king's supremacy, and that was why the eight Carthusians were sent to hear his counsels; but surely it is unnecessary to think with the Carthusian Chauncey, who relates the story, that at such a solemn moment the devil spoke by his mouth. An old system was being wrecked by violence, and a better state of things was to form itself gradually hereafter; but it was needless throwing away life to protect what could not be preserved.

In January 1538 Drs. Legh and Layton began, in different

parts of the country, a new visitation of the remaining monasteries, finding, of course, abuses as before, but also producing before the inmates of each house documents ready drawn up for its surrender to the king. Even then, however, it was denied boldly that any general suppression was intended. Abbots were ordered to put in the stocks any who spread such rumours, and were warned not to alienate their property for fear of anything of the kind. Alarm, of course, would have spoiled the game, which was to sweep everything quietly into the king's net; and as the process went on the surrenders were represented as having all been purely voluntary. To hasten the desired consummation, monasteries were shown up as nurseries of superstition. They belonged to the country rather than to the towns, where human intercourse promoted more acute intelligence. It was a treat for Londoners, therefore, to see the famous "Rood of Grace" brought up from Boxley in Kent, where it had performed childish wonders in past times for the edification of rustics and pilgrims. By wires and mechanism inside it the figure on the cross had been made to move eyes and lips. It was an old-fashioned toy, which apparently had been long laid aside, for the king's agent who took it away spoke of "old wire" and "old rotten sticks" at the back of it, and described the rood itself to Cromwell as a thing to which the inhabitants of Kent had shown great devotion "in time past." Yet now, when removed first to Maidstone, only two miles off, and exhibited in the market-place, it aroused, according to the same agent, "wondrous detestation and hatred." In London it was made to perform again outside St. Paul's, while Bishop Hilsey of Rochester preached to the people and exposed the abuse; after which he broke up the mechanism and flung the image among the people, who further broke it to pieces.

The Rood of Boxley.

This sermon of Bishop Hilsey's also touched upon the general subject of offering to images, and hinted that images in churches would shortly be put down. He was evidently set to prepare men for a coming policy, and he was not ashamed to utter scandals told him, as he alleged, in confession twenty years before by a miller's wife, who had been in too close relations with the then Abbot of Hailes in Gloucestershire. This abbot, he said, had given her many jewels that

had been offered to the celebrated "holy blood of Hailes," and derided her awe for the venerable relic itself, telling her it was but a duck's blood contained in a phial. It was certainly no such thing, as Hilsey himself was obliged to admit afterwards, though the current belief that it was our Lord's own blood was, of course, absurd. It seems to have been a relic obtained from the East three hundred years before by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans. What ultimately became of it is uncertain, though there seems to have been rather a careful examination of it in October in the presence of numerous witnesses.

The blood of Hailes.

From this time the royal crusade against superstition went on side by side with the process of taking surrenders of monasteries. All the long-suppressed murmuring against images and pilgrimages was now allowed free vent; and, as if to show that these abuses were to be put down first of all in their remotest strongholds, a great image in North Wales, called Darvell Gadarn, to which pilgrimages had been made, and which, the saying was, had power to rescue souls out of hell, was brought up to London in the spring to be burned in Smithfield. In the same fire that consumed the image was burned an Observant Friar named John Forest, who had once been confessor to Katharine of Aragon. His constancy in obedience to papal authority had given way for a time under the trial of severe imprisonment; but afterwards, having been set free, on resuming his functions as a confessor, he felt compelled by the questions addressed to him to return to his old spiritual allegiance. He was convented before Cranmer at Lambeth on May 8, when he is said to have abjured as heresies certain doctrines that he had taught, consisting mainly of a recognition of the Church of Rome as the Church Catholic, of papal pardons, and of priestly power to remit the pains of purgatory to the penitent. But he refused the penance enjoined on him to be done at St. Paul's on the following Sunday, and maintained his old beliefs once more. On May 22 he was hung by a chain over the burning mass of Darvell Gadarn until he died. At his martyrdom Bishop Latimer preached a sermon to persuade him again to recant, but he declared that an angel from heaven could not persuade him then.

Friar Forest and Darvell Gadarn.

The visitations and suppressions of monasteries went on throughout that year and the next. The famous image of Our Lady of Walsingham was removed before the priory was suppressed. The baths of Buxton were shut up, and the image of St. Anne taken away, with the "crutches, shirts, and sheets" hung up by grateful patients who had received benefit from bathing there. St. Modwen, too, was carried off from Burton-on-Trent with a like array of votive offerings. Our Lady of Ipswich also was secured, and a violent blow was dealt at the belief in papal authority by the spoliation of the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, the marvel of all Europe for its costly magnificence. What booty other shrines had yielded was nothing to the waggon-loads of gold and silver, precious stones and vestments, carried off from the chapel of St. Thomas, the shrine containing no material of less value than pure gold. To complete the business, the bones and relics of the saint were contemptuously burnt. The news of this outrage, when it reached Rome, filled the pope and cardinals with a peculiar horror. Even after all that Henry had done, they were not prepared for such an act of irreverence, and how to denounce it adequately was perplexing. Sentence of excommunication had already been fulminated against the king; but its execution had been suspended, simply because no prince would assist to carry it into effect. What better hope of secular aid there might be now remained to be seen; but, in the meantime, all that the Sacred College could do was to reissue the bull with additions, declaring that the hopes of the king's amendment, which for three years the pope would fain have cherished, had been so completely falsified that nothing now remained but to cut off a rotten member from the Church.

Images removed.

Spoliation of Becket's shrine.

Henry was, no doubt, aware that the possibility of a Continental alliance against him was greater now than it had been in 1535; but he was on his guard. His negotiations with the Germans in the summer had not led to any positive result, but they had served to nourish hope in the Protestants of a more complete understanding with him. Their divines were

Henry VIII. and the German divines.

naturally well pleased that Henry had cast off his spiritual allegiance to the pope and was putting down monasteries, but there were still three things in England that they wished to see reformed—communion in one kind only, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy. On these subjects the king himself wrote a very courteous reply to their ambassadors, defending the ancient usage in each point, but promising to take further counsel; and the ambassadors, after being detained till October, returned to their native country with a letter from the king to the Duke of Saxony, expressing great hope of good if he would send over Melanchthon and other learned men to England.

On September 5 a new set of injunctions was issued by Cromwell as the king's vicegerent, ordering a large English Bible to be set up in every church, which the clergy were to admonish their parishioners to read. Fresh directions were also given about teaching the Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English. Images were at the same time to be taken down wherever they induced pilgrimages or offerings, and lights were no longer to be burned before them. Then, besides a number of other regulations, the parochial clergy were enjoined henceforth to keep registers of every wedding, christening, and burial, an order which created much misgiving; for it was feared the king would tax each wedding, christening, and burial. The order for setting up a large Bible in every church was, no doubt, issued to satisfy in some measure the desire of the printer Grafton, who had petitioned Cromwell a year before that every abbey might be compelled to take six copies. He said he only wished "the papistical sort" to be compelled to take them, but without compulsory purchase on a considerable scale he did not see how he was to be reimbursed his expenses in an enterprise which had, no doubt, been suggested to him by Cromwell himself. Moreover, he was afraid of being undersold by copies produced on worse paper. Encouraged by Cromwell's favour, Grafton went to Paris, where the best of type and paper were to be had, as well as the best skilled printers, and he sent home specimens of a fine, new, sumptuous edition, which seems to have been all

New injunctions.

The Bible printed in France.

but completed in the house of the French printer Regnault, when the work was stopped in December by a citation of Regnault before the French inquisitor-general. The English printers escaped, and succeeded by indirect means in recovering a portion of the impression. By the help of Bonner, now Bishop of Hereford and ambassador in France, they were ultimately able to convey away their plant and a company of French compositors, by whose aid the work was completed in London in April 1539. In November following Cromwell received a commission forbidding the printing of any English Bible not approved by himself during the next five years, the pretext being to avoid diversity in translations.

Hoping for a religious union with Henry VIII., the Protestant leaders in Germany, John Frederic of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, wrote him a letter to warn him once more of the spread of the Anabaptist sect, some of whom believed that their principles were making progress in England, and were anxious to go thither. But on this matter the king required little prompting. A royal commission was issued on October 1 to Cranmer and other bishops and divines, including Dr. Barnes and Dr. Crome, to search out these heretics and destroy their books, receiving back into the Church those who would recant, and handing over to the secular arm those who persevered in their errors. This was followed by two proclamations in November, mainly directed against heretical books and persons. In the second all who had been rebaptized, or denied the sacrament to be the very body of Christ, were ordered to leave the realm within twelve days, whether they had recanted or not. But the first proclamation, issued on November 16, was concerned rather with things than with persons. No English books were to be imported, sold, or published, without a licence from the Council, and even licensed books must not bear the words *cum privilegio regali* without the addition *ad imprimendum solum*, to show that they were not set forth by authority. No "books of Scripture" were to be sold without special supervision. No persons were to dispute about the sacrament except divines learned in the schools. A number of old ceremonies, such as the use of holy bread and holy water,

Proclamations against heretical books and persons.

kneeling, and creeping to the cross on Good Friday, setting up lights before Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on Candlemas, purification of women, and so forth, were to be observed till the king pleased to change them. Married priests were to be deprived, and those marrying in future to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. Church dignitaries in their preaching were to show the differences between things commanded by God and ceremonies used in the Church. Becket was to be no longer esteemed a saint, as he was really a rebel; his festival was to be abolished, his services rased out of the books, and his "pictures" (which meant mostly images) were to be plucked down throughout the realm.

On the same 16th day of November on which this proclamation was issued, London was edified by a heresy trial conducted by the king himself at Whitehall, sitting in state as supreme head of the Church of England, with an array of bishops and lawyers on his right, of peers and gentlemen of the privy chamber on his left. One John Nicholson, known also by the name of Lambert, was brought before the court. He was a Norfolk man, educated for the priesthood at Cambridge, who, under Bilney's influence, had contracted heretical opinions for which he more than once had got into trouble in past years. He had been examined on forty-five articles by Archbishop Warham, shortly before the aged prelate's death, when his release from durance was probably owing to that underhand favour with which, as we have seen, the king then regarded heretics. In 1536 he was brought up before Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer, and was bold enough to maintain in their presence that it was sinful to pray to saints. But his present trouble arose out of some criticisms he had made on a sermon of Dr. Taylor, the rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and he was charged with heresy even by Dr. Barnes for denying the corporal presence in the sacrament. He refused to recant, and appealed to the king himself; before whom, accordingly, he had a formal trial, and after much discussion in court between him and the divines, was told that he must submit or die. Six days later he was committed to the flames at Smithfield.

Trial and death of John Nicholson or Lambert.

Henry had never professed any favour for heretics, even when he found their services convenient; and his zeal for

orthodoxy at this time had a purpose. His throne was really in danger, as the emperor and Francis, through the pope's mediation, had come to an understanding, and the ten years' truce agreed to at Nice in June had been followed by a personal interview between the two sovereigns at Aigues Mortes in July. Cordial relations between the rivals seemed to be developing with unexpected rapidity; and it was quite within the limits of probability that the two great rulers of Europe would unite to deprive Henry of his kingdom in accordance with the papal bull. But if Henry was to be deprived, who was likely to be put in his place? There was royal blood in the two great families of the Courtenays and the Poles. Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter, was the son of Katharine, a daughter of Edward IV., and was next in succession if Henry's issue were set aside. Henry Pole, Lord Montague, and his brother the cardinal were grandsons of Edward IV.'s ill-fated brother Clarence. Suddenly their younger brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, was arrested and plied with questions as to the intercourse which he or the rest of the family kept up with the "traitor" cardinal. By fear of torture much was by degrees dragged out of him, which under the monstrous laws of those days might be accounted treason, and in December both Exeter and Montague were condemned and beheaded, while a number of their dependants were hanged and quartered. Sir Geoffrey Pole, who had endeavoured to commit suicide to avoid revealing things against his family, received a pardon when he had served the king's purpose, and was miserable for the rest of his days.

Execution of the Marquis of Exeter and of Lord Montague.

In 1539 the king's anxieties increased; for, seeing that better terms were now established between the emperor and Francis I., the pope ventured in December 1538 to send Cardinal Pole on a second mission to these two sovereigns to persuade them to forbid intercourse with England until Henry could be brought to a better state of mind. Pole, smarting under deep personal griefs in the judicial murder of one brother and the cruelty inflicted on all his family (for even his mother was rudely questioned and imprisoned), felt still that his own were but a part of the grievances of all Christendom, and it was with a high sense of

Pole's second mission.

duty that he set out from Rome in mid-winter, and after a bitter journey through Italy, the south of France and Spain, reached the imperial court at Toledo in the middle of February. In vain now did the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Wyatt, demand his surrender as a traitor. Charles said that if he had been a traitorous subject of his own he could not refuse audience to a papal legate. But his devotion to Rome carried him no further. He had enough to do with the Turks and the Lutherans without provoking England into the bargain, and cutting off commercial intercourse was not much less than making war. Pole left the imperial court disappointed, and did not feel it wise to go to that of Francis until he could get assurance that Francis was prepared to act independently against England. He retraced half his journey toward Rome to rest with his friend, Cardinal Sadolet, at Carpentras till he should hear from Francis; but the French king, though quite willing to have prohibited intercourse with England if the emperor would have done the same, did not see that he could prudently act alone.

Thus the plans of the pope were again disappointed. They had included this time the publication of the bull of excommunication in Scotland close upon the English border. This was to have been done by David Beton, Abbot of Arbroath, whom the pope at James's request had just created cardinal (December 20), a messenger named Latino Juvenale being despatched to Scotland with the hat and with instructions for the purpose. Henry would thus have had enemies against him on all sides and very little goodwill from his own subjects. But Francis not only would not move without the emperor, but he prevented Juvenale from going to Scotland, and Beton came from Scotland to France to receive the hat. Henry now gradually recovered his spirits. Pole's second legation had been quite as unfruitful as the first, though its result was less ignominious. But it created, for the time, very considerable alarm, and the king continued to make active preparations for war, fortifying the coast and setting beacons. General musters were ordered through the kingdom, and serious anxiety was aroused in the beginning of April by a Dutch fleet supposed to be meditating invasion. Parliament was called together at the end of that month, the elections being managed

by Cromwell in a way to make it specially tractable; and when it met it showed itself tractable indeed.

Its first business was to consider how to vindicate the orthodoxy of a king and realm denounced everywhere abroad as heretical. Its second was to pass a sweeping bill of attainder against the noblemen and others recently executed, and against Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, Cardinal Pole, and a host of others mentioned by name, who were never heard in their own defence. And thirdly, it passed an Act to give royal proclamations the force of law, making the king and his council even more absolute rulers than before.

The result of its deliberations on the subject of religion was the passing of the celebrated Act of the Six Articles, reviled by the Protestant party[1] as "the Whip with Six Strings." And it was certainly severe enough. Denial of transubstantiation, or depraving the sacrament, was to be punished as heresy, by burning of the person and confiscation of lands and goods. Any teaching that communion in both kinds was necessary, or that auricular confession was not necessary, and the marriage of any priest, or man or woman who had vowed chastity or widowhood, was made felony, and involved the punishment of death. Even one conviction for the proscribed opinions involved forfeiture of all a man's property; a second made him liable to the extreme penalty. All clerical marriages hitherto contracted were dissolved, and clerical incontinence was visited with the loss of all property and benefices. To crown all, special commissions were to be issued to hold sessions quarterly in every county for the enforcement of the statute.

Act of the Six Articles.

The title prefixed to this statute, "An Act abolishing diversity in opinions," fills the modern reader with some amazement. But the object really was to check that growth of free-spoken heterodoxy which the king himself had in past years surreptitiously encouraged for private reasons of his own; and the steps by which this law was enacted were characteristic

[1] The expression "Protestant party" is used for convenience, though it is scarcely historical at this period. The doctrines and practices condemned were partly Lollard, partly Lutheran; and though they were, no doubt, loosely held by a large number of people, there was no distinct party in their favour. (See Preface.)

of the new relations of Church and State. Parliament first submitted six questions touching the faith to a committee of bishops presided over by Cromwell, and Convocation also took the matter into consideration. But old and new schools of thought were so well balanced among the bishops that diversity of opinions seemed likely to be more emphasised than ever, and the Duke of Norfolk, on May 16, proposed the Six Articles to the determination of the House of Peers, urging that the decision of that House, apart from the clergy, should be embodied in a penal statute. The lay lords were quite unanimous. A minority of the bishops, however, still held out, till the king took the pains to argue matters with them himself, and, according to an anonymous contemporary writer, "confounded them all with God's learning." Royal theology was decisive, and it certainly was such as had the sanction of time and consent of the world at large. But of the bishops thus "confounded" in argument some were perplexed what to do when the Act was passed. Shaxton and Latimer resigned their bishoprics, and Cranmer had to dismiss the wife he had married in Germany.

Severe as the law was, however, it led to but little severity in practice. The first quest under it for the city of London sat in what was presently called the Mercers' Chapel, hitherto known as the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, or "Becket's house," as the vulgar named it. Here over five hundred citizens were indicted in a fortnight, but received the king's pardon, of course on their submission. The heretics were effectually frightened, and were quiet for a time. "The Whip with Six Strings" did not do anything like the cruel injustice perpetrated by the Act of Attainder against some of the chief adherents of the old religion.

Moreover, it *was* the old religion, and in the main the religion of the people, which was now protected by such severe penalties. It was the old religion, with the pope left out. England was not to be treated now as an heretical kingdom, and the emperor had a good excuse for not organising an expedition to dethrone the king. Henry, however, had taken other precautions against this, and while showing himself very Catholic at home, had been carefully cultivating his relations with the Protestants of Germany in a way to

make the emperor feel still more that he could not afford to quarrel with him. The Protestants, indeed, were shocked at the Act of the Six Articles, and even before it was enacted some approach had been made to an understanding between the emperor and them, in which, pending a fuller settlement, the emperor had successfully insisted that they should admit no new confederate into their league. But Cromwell, as if unauthorised, had previously suggested to the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse a marriage between the king, his master, and Anne, daughter of John Duke of Cleves and Juliers, who died in February of this year, 1539, and was succeeded in the dukedom by his son William. This lady's sister Sibilla was the Duke of Saxony's wife, and, religion apart, the alliance suggested was likely to strengthen considerably the Lutheran princes in their dealings with the emperor. It was therefore favourably received; and though the project cooled for some time, a treaty for the marriage was drawn up on October 6. By this match Henry felt himself much more secure from the possibility of a Continental alliance against him, and he seems to have been less alarmed than his councillors when, immediately afterwards, the emperor, at the French king's invitation, passed through France on his way to the Netherlands.

The proposed marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves.

Meanwhile, the process of dissolving monasteries had gone so far that only a few of the larger ones were now left standing. The great majority of these houses, since the smaller ones had been suppressed under the Act of 1536, had been received by the king's agents by virtue of surrenders. One or two, like the priory of Lenton in Nottinghamshire and Woburn in Bedfordshire, were confiscated, as some of the northern abbeys had been during the rebellion, by the attainder of their abbots—a stretch of the principles of law which it would be hard to justify, even if the abbots had really deserved attainder. The story about Lenton is obscure; but the depositions in the case of the Abbot of Woburn show that it was for no disloyal mind, but only for scruples as to the supremacy—scruples which led him to express privately in his own chamber a wish that he had died with More and Fisher and the

Progress of the suppression of monasteries.

Carthusians—that he was condemned and hung at his own abbey gate, with one or two of his monks. It must have been clear enough from cases like this that monasteries which would not have come to the king by surrender were pretty certain to come to him by attainder, and an Act was actually passed in the Parliament of April which seemed really to anticipate the complete extinction of monachism; for it confirmed the king's title in all monasteries already surrendered or to be surrendered in future, placed the revenues under the control of the new court, called the Court of Augmentation (constituted in 1536, when the smaller monasteries were suppressed, for the augmentation of the king's revenues), and invalidated any conveyances of monastic property by any abbot within one year of the dissolution of his house.

The king and those about him had evidently lost all respect for the sanctity of old endowments; yet he felt the need of a pious pretext to justify his proceedings, and this appeared in another Act of Parliament, passed at the same time, to enable him to apply the confiscated property to better uses. This Act, which passed through all its stages in both Houses in a single day, referred in its preamble to "the slothful and ungodly life" led by those persons who were called religious; and in order that God's Word might be better set forth, children better taught, students maintained at universities, highways mended, and various other good purposes promoted, the king was empowered to create new bishoprics by letters-patent, and endow them with monastic lands. Within a few years, accordingly, he created bishoprics at Westminster, Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Oxford.

But it was found that the abbots of three great houses, who had probably encouraged each other by secret messages, were quite unwilling to surrender them. So in September the king's officers, who had already surveyed the property a day or two before, seized Reading into the king's hands. A week later they were at Glastonbury, where they took the abbot (Richard Whiting) by surprise, and questioned him; then searched his study, where they found some papal bulls, with a book against

Proceedings against three great abbots.

the king's divorce from Katharine, and a printed life of Becket. They secured the abbot's person, and sent him up to London to the Tower, while even a first search in the monastery brought to light over £300 in money, and quantities of plate which the abbot had hidden from the view of previous commissioners. This was robbery of the king in the eyes of the present agents, and they committed to gaol the two treasurers of the convent and two lay clerks of the vestry. Afterwards they professed to have discovered certain treasons committed by the abbot, of which, unfortunately, their account has not been preserved.

Memoranda in Cromwell's handwriting still existing show that it was arranged beforehand that Hugh Cook, Abbot of Reading, was to be sent down to Reading to be tried and executed there, along with some "accomplices"; and the Abbot of Glastonbury, with his "accomplices," was to be tried and executed at Glastonbury. And so it was done. Abbot Whiting suffered on Tor Hill close to his monastery; his head was placed upon the abbey gate, and his quarters distributed for exhibition at Bath, Ilchester, and Bridgwater. Two monks of his abbey suffered along with him, and the very same day Abbot Cook was hanged at Reading, along with two priests of the neighbourhood. The third of the three abbots was Thomas Beche of Colchester, who was now in the Tower. Depositions had been taken against him, showing that he objected to the pulling down of houses of religion, and had said that the king could not lawfully suppress those above the annual value of £200; also that he sympathised with More and Fisher, and even with the northern rebels, and had spoken about covetousness in a way which was taken to point at the king. He must have been tried in November. He was executed on December 1.

After this there was little spirit of resistance left. Abbeys and priories surrendered rapidly towards the close of the year, and the few that were left, including Westminster, which it was proposed to convert into a bishopric, easily came into the king's hands in the following spring. The last to surrender was Waltham Abbey on March 23, 1540, unless we include a few colleges and hospitals which surrendered later in the year.

AUTHORITIES.—Calendar of Henry VIII. vols. xiii. and xiv., and, as to purgatory and preaching, vol. vii. nos. 463, 464, 871, vol. ix. no. 704 (vol. vii. no. 464 should apparently have been placed about Whitsunday, May 24); Wilkins; Hall; Foxe; Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries;* Statutes 31 Hen. VIII. For the general council see Baronius, vol. xxxii. For the Charterhouse monks see authorities cited in chap. viii. For the Rood of Boxley see Bridgett's *Blunders and Forgeries.* As to the spoliation of Becket's shrine see Sanders; also *The Relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury*, by John Morris, S.J. On the English Bible, as in last chapter.

CHAPTER XII

LAST YEARS OF HENRY THE EIGHTH

THE match with Anne of Cleves was purely a political one, and had been arranged cunningly enough to increase the emperor's anxieties at a very critical period, so as to deter him from the thought of uniting with France against England. Henry himself confessed afterwards that he had agreed to it as a means of protecting him against the emperor, Francis, and the pope; and in that we may undoubtedly believe him. But he found, as time went on, that matters took a different course from what he had anticipated, and it would almost seem that he cast about for means to extricate himself from this marriage from the very day it was solemnised. That he was disgusted with the lady's appearance at the first sight of her was his own statement afterwards, accepted ever since in all simplicity by grave historians. But he had seen Holbein's portrait of her before he saw herself; and that portrait, which still exists at Paris, certainly does not represent a woman of extraordinary beauty. There were, in fact, much deeper reasons for his dissatisfaction with the match, which it did not suit his purpose to make known.

Political character of the match with Anne of Cleves.

Anne of Cleves landed at Deal on December 27, 1539, and the king, after paying her a furtive visit at Rochester on New Year's Day, married her at Greenwich on January 6, 1540. Months passed before the world knew that anything was wrong, and the king, no doubt, for some little time regarded his new matrimonial alliance as a security against that European combination which he dreaded. But the clouds soon cleared away. Francis had been over-chivalrous towards his old rival, and ere long found out his mistake. He

had allowed the emperor to pass through France to quell a revolt at Ghent, and had given him a kindly reception at Paris almost at the very time that Anne was landing in England. But he got nothing from Charles in return for his magnanimity; he had only discouraged old allies and friends of his own, while the emperor by his generosity had secured his hold upon the Netherlands and was daily growing stronger. The Protestants of Germany were left to settle matters with their own sovereign as they might, without the aid of Francis, who at this time, guided by the Constable Montmorency, would have no dealings with heretics.

Now the Protestants of Germany, while they still looked upon Henry as a useful political ally, were disgusted with the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, and had no further hopes of him in the matter of religion. In England, however, it was not certain for some time that a really Catholic settlement would ensue. In spite of that severe statute, Englishmen who favoured Lutheran principles expected toleration from the king's latest marriage; and as Henry was even now completing the destruction of the monasteries, their hopes seemed not unreasonable. The Six Articles had not yet been severely enforced, and a king who had winked at so much heresy in past days in spite of his own proclamations might possibly be expected to encourage it even now. No wonder, then, that Dr. Barnes, the chief of the Lutheran party in England, who only a year before had been sent as ambassador to King Christian of Denmark, and had received promotion from Cromwell since his return, believed himself to be still in favour. He was, moreover, appointed to preach at Paul's Cross on the first Sunday in Lent (February 15); but, to his discomfort, the arrangement was set aside in order that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, might occupy the pulpit in his place. Now Gardiner, the most determined opponent of heresy, had for some time been out of favour, Cromwell having succeeded in excluding him from the privy council; and his appointment to preach at Paul's Cross was ominous. In his sermon he denounced Lutheran doctrines in a way that irritated Barnes extremely; and Barnes, a fortnight later, being permitted to preach in the same place, took the same text as Gardiner had done, contra-

Bishop Gardiner and Barnes.

dicted what he had said, punned upon his name as one who set evil herbs in the garden of Scripture, and ended by flinging down his glove before the audience as a defiance to the bishop.

Gardiner complained to the council of this indecency, and desired, as his doctrines were impugned, that he and Barnes might hold a discussion before indifferent judges. This was arranged, and Barnes was obliged to confess that the bishop had conquered him in argument, and to ask his forgiveness. But two other preachers of the new school, William Jerome, Vicar of Stepney, and Thomas Garret, whose escape from Oxford in 1528 had excited so much alarm, followed Barnes at Paul's Cross with equally objectionable utterances, and, being summoned before the king, the whole three were enjoined to preach recantation sermons in Easter week. They did so, but in such an unsatisfactory way that all three were committed to the Tower.

It was no secret that the chief patron of heresy was Cromwell, and after this men doubted whether his influence with the king was not on the decline. In the beginning of April Gardiner was again summoned to the council. But Cromwell not only opened, on the 12th, a new session of the Parliament which had been prorogued since last June, but was created Earl of Essex on the 17th, so that he seemed to be in higher favour than ever. Parliament, at the opening of that session, presented a novel appearance. At its last prorogation, on June 28, 1539, seventeen abbots had been present; now there was not one. When the Lords met they were first addressed by the lord chancellor in a speech full of platitudes; but he was immediately followed by Cromwell, the real mouthpiece of the king's intentions. His Majesty, he said, desired nothing so much as concord for a firm bond of the Commonwealth. He knew that tares had sprung up in the field of religion. Some called others papists, and these called them heretics in return. Such discord was not to be endured, and still less that when the king of his benignity had granted that the Bible might be read in the vernacular, the privilege was wretchedly abused, some turning it to the support of heresies and some of superstitions. The king was therefore determined to promote true doctrine, to separate pious from impious ceremonies, and to teach their uses; and

Cromwell's further advancement.

further, to prevent abuses and punish irreverent treatment of the Bible. For these objects he had selected certain bishops and doctors who should set forth *quæ ad institutionem viri Christiani attinent*, and another set of bishops to deal with the question of ceremonies. The former of these two committees was a weighty one, consisting of the two archbishops, the Bishops of London (Bonner), Durham (Tunstall), Winchester (Gardiner), Rochester (Heath), Hereford (Skipp), and St. David's (Barlow), with Doctors Thirlby, Robinson, Cocks, Wilson, Day, Oglethorp, and others of very considerable name. The second committee consisted of six bishops only, almost all of the new school, and of comparatively recent nomination.

Committees on doctrine and ceremonies.

The king certainly took a strong interest in the proceedings of the first committee, and drew from its members a number of definite opinions on the sacraments, although some guarded themselves by the statement that they gave them with submission to better judgment. Archbishop Cranmer himself gave a diffident opinion, referring the final decision of the questions proposed entirely to the king. What sort of religion was to be upheld was evidently not yet clear. The scales moved up and down. Towards the end of May, Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, was nominated to a new bishopric created under the Act of last year by letters-patent—the bishopric of Westminster; but two hours later he was arrested and sent to the Tower, accused of treason.

Henry was coming gradually to the conclusion that no further use could be made of Protestantism abroad, and that he must not encourage it again at home. The whole policy of Cromwell must be laid aside, and the minister himself, of course, must be sacrificed to that clamour which, as in Wolsey's case, was quite ready to break out as soon as the support of the king himself was withdrawn. The king, indeed, still made use of his services, especially in managing still further the very tractable Parliament prorogued from last year. New subsidies and new Acts of attainder were procured; and even before these an Act was passed for the complete suppression of the great military order of the Knights of St. John in England, and the transfer of its vast revenues to the Crown. As this order was international and

Fall of Cromwell.

subject to a grand master at Malta (where, since the capture of Rhodes by the Turks in 1522, the knights had been given new headquarters by the emperor), serious differences among them had already arisen from Henry's peculiar ecclesiastical pretensions; and English knights who acknowledged the king's supremacy over the Church at home found themselves deprived of their offices and imprisoned at Malta, to the great disparagement of their sovereign in foreign lands.

The king had virtually got all he wanted out of Parliament before the Whitsuntide recess in May; and though the arrest of Bishop Sampson at the end of the month tended to confirm the belief in Cromwell's continued ascendency, it was very soon seen that his power was at an end. On June 10 he was arrested and committed to the Tower, where he had still to do the king a very peculiar service before he was finally despatched under a new Act of attainder. He was required to furnish written replies to a number of interrogatories written in the king's own hand as to the circumstances of the marriage with Anne of Cleves. To these he not only gave categorical answers, but wrote a long letter to the king telling the whole story in detail, and revealing a number of disgusting conversations between his sovereign and himself which might be used for a suit of nullity. On July 6, the Lords and Commons having petitioned that the matter should be inquired into, a commission was issued to the two archbishops and the whole clergy of England to investigate the question of the king's marriage, and whether he might lawfully marry again. Next day a joint convocation of the two provinces sat in the chapter-house at Westminster, and appointed a committee out of their number to visit the palace and take evidences. On the 9th a decision was arrived at that the marriage was null, partly on account of a precontract between Anne and a son of the Duke of Lorraine, and also because it had not been consummated, as the king had not entered into it willingly and his mind had been always against it. Anne herself had been waited on and her consent obtained to the procedure; and after the judgment was passed she confessed she was a maid, and was given two houses to live in, with an endowment of £4000 a year.

He is sent to the Tower.

The marriage with Anne of Cleves declared null.

The sudden change startled, amused, or shocked men of the world according as it affected their interests. It at once produced a more cordial understanding with the emperor, who had been anxious all along as to the support Henry might give to the Duke of Cleves. On the other hand, Francis and his ministers received the news with dismay. But even those who were pleased at it were moved to cynicism, like the imperial secretary Covos in Spain, who said Henry had assumed spiritual jurisdiction to some purpose, when he could get married or unmarried as he pleased. At home it was seen at once that the king was about to take a new wife, Katharine Howard, the young and beautiful niece of the Duke of Norfolk, the leader of the Catholic reaction, who became his fifth queen on August 8. Before this, on July 28, Cromwell was brought to the block; and on the 30th a greater tragedy was enacted. Six victims were dragged from the Tower to Smithfield, three of whom were the preachers Barnes, Jerome, and Garret. These were burned for heresy, while the three others, Richard Fetherstone, Dr. Edward Powell, and Thomas Abell, were hanged and subjected to the usual brutalities for treason in denying the king's supremacy.

Executions.

Thus three Protestant and three Catholic martyrs were put to death at the same time and place; and it would really be difficult to say which set of victims suffered the greater injustice. For the first three had been attainted during the session by one special Act of Parliament, and the other three by another—all without being heard in their own defence. The first three were simply declared in the Act to have openly preached heresies, which two of them had before abjured; the other three to have refused the king's supremacy. Abell, a devoted chaplain of Katharine of Aragon, had been in the Tower eight years with one brief interval. Fetherstone, another of the same queen's chaplains, had been schoolmaster to the Princess Mary. Dr. Powell, an active opponent of Lutheranism, had written against the king's divorce. These two-fold executions showed clearly the king's determination alike to vindicate his own catholicity in doctrine, and to maintain as firmly as ever his supremacy over the Church of England. And he had no great opposition now to fear on either point. Doctrinal heresy seemed

to be utterly stamped out. An English Calvinist, writing to the Swiss reformer, Bullinger, nearly two years after Cromwell's death, laments that over the length and breadth of England not a single true preacher was any longer to be found. Only in one direction was the severity of the penal statute relaxed, and that was as regards the incontinency of priests, which was no longer to be a capital offence.

Henry's anxiety to show himself a good Catholic was doubtless due to a feeling that the pope's bull might even yet be executed; and he certainly felt some uneasiness next year (1541) lest the emperor, though he had difficulties enough elsewhere, should succeed in conciliating the Protestants at the diet of Ratisbon. If it were to come to that, he might even have to go one step further backwards and get the emperor to make his peace with Rome; which good office he knew well the emperor would be glad enough to do even now, and he thanked the imperial minister, Granvelle, for offering to procure it. But such an acknowledgment of error could only have been wrung from him by dire necessity; and it very soon appeared, not only that the emperor's attempt to conciliate the Protestants was a failure, but that he might have quite as much need of the king's help as the king was likely to have of his. Henry, however, had his difficulties also. The tyrannical government which he had established in the north had almost provoked a new rebellion there this spring; and though it was immediately quashed, it suggested to him the necessity of his making a progress into those parts in person, accompanied by a considerable armed force for safety. But before he could leave London he must guard against disaffection in the south by clearing the Tower of prisoners. The aged Countess of Salisbury was privately beheaded on the morning of May 28 in presence of a select body of witnesses—for no crime whatever, except that she had been attainted in Parliament two years before without having been brought to trial. Other victims followed, of whom the most notable was Lord Leonard Grey, late deputy of Ireland.

Execution of the Countess of Salisbury.

About this time also occurred another pitiable case, not arising directly from State policy, but from recent legislation. Richard Mekins, a youth of eighteen, was burned in Smithfield

for heresy. A second commission for putting in force the Act of the Six Articles had been issued in January; but the citizens of London, this time, at first declined to make any presentments at all. They had desired the advice of their parish clergy on the subject; which was, for good reasons, refused. At last they presented this lad, who had rashly maintained consubstantiation. That doctrine, which he had learned from Dr. Barnes, was quite as much against the statute as denying the corporal presence; and as no abjuration under the Act admitted such an offender to pardon, there was but one way with him. He died very penitent, regretting that he had ever known Dr. Barnes, from whom his heresy was derived. But though it was impossible to save him under a law of such severity, he was visited in prison by the Bishop of London, who ministered to him all the consolation that one doomed to die could receive from a spiritual father; and the poor lad at his death confessed the great kindness and humanity shown him by Bishop Bonner.

Richard Mekins.

There are, indeed, other evidences that Bishop Bonner was by no means the heartless persecutor that history, on the faith of Puritan writers, has taken him to be. He was a man who had his faults, but they were not of the kind represented. A man of high culture and great accomplishments, he could wink at vice in high places, and he could outrage all conventionalism to do his king a service. He could insult another king to his face, or irritate extremely the pope himself, in order to advance his sovereign's policy; but to prisoners in his hands he was really kind, gentle, and considerate. Over their ultimate fate, it must be remembered, he had no control, when once they were declared to be irreclaimable heretics and handed over to the secular power; but he always strove by gentle suasion first to reconcile them to the Church, as it was his duty to do. As Bishop of London he naturally had more heretics to deal with than any other bishop; but there is no appearance of his straining the law against them. In this same year a case is mentioned by Foxe in which, without expressly charging Bonner himself with cruelty, he evidently wishes the reader to do so. It was simply that one John Porter, "a fresh

Bishop Bonner's true character.

young man and of big stature," was committed by the bishop to Newgate for collecting a crowd in St. Paul's Cathedral to hear him read from one of the six large English Bibles newly set up in the church, and discourse upon what he read—a practice manifestly inconvenient, and forbidden by proclamation. Foxe suggests, but does not venture to state, that he died of certain tortures, which he describes, inflicted on him in prison; but whether this be accurate or not, Bonner clearly was not answerable for his fate.

When the king reached Yorkshire in his progress he received the very humble submission of Archbishop Lee of York and of all who had taken part in the rebellion four years before, large presents of money being made to him for the assurance of his forgiveness. At York he waited some time in the hope, as he afterwards gave out, that James V. of Scotland would come thither to a meeting with him—a project which, no doubt, had been suggested in secret diplomacy for years, though James always wisely avoided falling into the trap. He had returned by the end of October to Hampton Court, where, on November 2, a dreadful piece of intelligence communicated to the Council was laid before him by Cranmer. His new queen's life had not been pure before marriage, and, as the inquiry went on, it was found not to have been any better since; indeed, even during the recent progress in the north she had held secret interviews with an old paramour, aided by Lady Rochford, the wicked sister-in-law of Anne Boleyn. Henry was covered with shame and confusion such as he had never known before. The queen's plebeian accomplices were tried and executed in December. She herself, with Lady Rochford, was attainted in the Parliament which met in January 1542, and they were both beheaded on February 12, while the whole family of Norfolk were for some time under a cloud.

Katharine Howard's evil life.

From the time of Henry's quarrel with the pope additional anxieties had arisen concerning the state of Ireland. That country, it is true, had been a problem to him and his father before him when as yet there was no religious question to complicate matters. The method by which Henry governed Ireland had been generally to balance one Irish party against another, or appoint an English ruler when

Ireland.

he could not get on with either. The Geraldine faction had been generally in the ascendant; but the rebellion of "Silken Thomas," tenth Earl of Kildare, in 1534, prompted apparently by suspicion of foul play to his father in the Tower, terminated all possibility of using that family again as governors of Ireland. Silken Thomas was for two or three months actual ruler of the land, and, declaring that he was on the pope's side against the king, murdered Archbishop Allen at Clontarf, and threatened to drive all the English out of the country. Skeffington, a man who understood artillery, was sent to govern Ireland; and on his speedy death the deputyship was given to Lord Leonard Grey, who had some success in reducing the country, but was ill rewarded for his loyalty.

A new policy was then initiated under Sir Anthony St. Leger, and it was not less a spiritual policy than a temporal one. The pope's name must not be used henceforth as a handle for rebellion. The Irish Parliament, indeed, had passed Acts similar to those passed in England;[1] but they were much more difficult to enforce. The Irish monasteries might be pulled down — few comparatively cared about them; but a foreign enemy landing in Ireland and making war on Henry's government because he was excommunicated by the pope was a very serious prospect. Even the Scots might combine with the northern Irish with most unpleasant results. Yet what could mere legislation against the pope's authority effect? The English were but a little garrison in Ireland, and their effectual occupation of the country was limited to a mere fringe of land on the eastern coast. Even there the king's spiritual supremacy was virtually ignored. It was in vain for Archbishop Browne of Dublin to publish the king's injunctions, or to go about preaching the king's supremacy, which he could get nobody else to do. It was impossible to get the pope's name erased from mass-books, except when the archbishop sent his own servants to erase it. Nay, Bishop Staples of Meath, who had come over with Skeffington, denounced the archbishop himself as a heretic.

St. Leger did not depend entirely on force; he won Irish

[1] Of course, by the Poynings law, all Irish legislation was ordered in England beforehand.

chieftains to submission by granting them lands from the Crown. Sir William Weston, the last prior of the Knights of St. John in England, had died of a broken heart at the dissolution of his fellowship and the confiscation of their lands; but the Irish prior of the order, Sir John Rawson, easily gave up Kilmainham for a pension and the title of Viscount Clontarf. Other Irish chieftains were ennobled besides, and there was a very general submission, each individual chieftain declaring in an indenture that he acknowledged Henry as king and renounced the pope's authority. Moreover, the king's style was altered by an Act of the Irish Parliament, which was confirmed after a little delay by the English Council, though of course they had agreed to it beforehand. Ireland had hitherto been regarded as a lordship granted to Henry II. and his successors by the pope, and the English sovereign bore the titles "King of England and Lord of Ireland." Now, to defeat any claim of feudal superiority on the part of the pope, the royal style was altered to "King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth, immediately under Christ, Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland." And Henry was so proclaimed on January 22, 1542.

Just after this, while Parliament was passing the Act of attainder against Katharine Howard, Convocation was engaged in discussing the merits, or demerits rather, of "the Great Bible," the printing of which had been begun in France and finished in England three years before. It was an enterprise of Cromwell's which no doubt was profitable, as the churches were compelled to purchase copies; but since his death there had been much outcry against the translation, and Convocation declared that it could not be retained without scandal, and that it required considerable revision. The work of revision was accordingly entrusted to committees for the Old and New Testament, which embraced the most competent scholars of the day, both in Greek and Hebrew. But naturally questions arose how to convey in English the full sense of many words which in the Latin of the Vulgate were understood to have a certain ecclesiastical significance, and Gardiner handed

Convocation condemns "the Great Bible";

in a long list of words which he thought it advisable to retain in their Latin forms, or to translate, as he expressed it, *quam accommodissime fieri possit.* That "accommodation" of some sort is absolutely necessary in translating the Scriptures is a fact which does not strike the unlearned; but the New Testament itself was not written in classical Greek, or the Vulgate in classical Latin. To appreciate the thoughts in either language the mind has to become accustomed to the medium; and no greater delusion can exist, though it seems to be a common one, than the idea that any modern translation can be an exact equivalent for the original.

But when matters had advanced so far, the king sent a message through Cranmer forbidding Convocation to proceed, as he intended to submit the book to the two universities. This was a mere pretext to stop the work, for two days later a patent was issued to Anthony Marlar, haberdasher of London, giving him the sole right of printing the Bible for four years to come. Vested interests evidently carried the day against the authority of the Synod.

but it is nevertheless retained.

Henry's insular position alone had enabled him to defy the pope so long with impunity, and it was on the side of Scotland that he was weak. The bull of excommunication, which never reached England, might have been published in England itself with the most serious consequences if the country had been successfully invaded by the Scots during a war with France. For this reason Henry had made great efforts to induce James V. to follow him in his anti-papal policy; while Paul III., in 1537, had sent James a consecrated sword and hat, intending, as it was believed, to take away Henry's title of Defender of the Faith and confer it upon him. James accordingly was devoted to the See of Rome, and it was simply for this cause, as observed by contemporaries, even by those unfriendly to the papacy, that Henry made war upon him in 1542. In November the Scots received a crushing defeat at the Solway Moss, which was followed next month by the death of James V., just after his queen had given birth to the ill-starred Mary Stuart who succeeded him.

Now, many of the Scottish nobles had felt little sympathy

with their king's devotion to the Holy See, and looked upon Cardinal Beton — the chief upholder of their country's independence — with the same jealousy with which the English lords had regarded Wolsey. Some of them even inclined to heresy. The religious condition of the country seems to have differed considerably from that of England, where, since the exceptional days of Sir John Oldcastle, heretics had commonly been obscure persons. Patrick Hamilton, who was burned at St. Andrews in 1528, was actually of the blood-royal of Scotland, young, learned, and zealous for the new German theology; and his death produced an effect, even beyond his own country, which was not produced by the burning of many heretics elsewhere. Frith had translated into English his devotional thoughts under the title of *Patrick's Places;* and the fervour of this true martyr, contrasted with the idle and dissolute lives of too many of the Scottish clergy, produced much preaching even among Scottish friars against abuses of the Church.

Heresy in Scotland.

But, however the Scotch nobles might incline to follow Patrick Hamilton in his heresies, few of them were bright examples, either of piety or of patriotism; and when a number of them fell into Henry's hands at the Solway Moss, the king saw how to make use of them. He released his prisoners on pledges that they would promote a marriage between their child-sovereign and his son Prince Edward, acknowledging himself as superior lord of Scotland, and do their best to put him in possession of the strongholds of the kingdom till the marriage could take effect. In 1543, in the prostrate condition of Scotland, the newly elected governor Arran agreed to carry out his wishes by an anti-papal policy; Cardinal Beton was for a time made prisoner, and English Bibles were authorised in defiance of the "kirkmen." A treaty for the marriage was actually concluded. But Henry's demands for the delivery of the child into his hands and the complete surrender of the national independence were manifestly intolerable. Arran, moreover, could not maintain an anti-papal policy; he became reconciled to Beton, and Henry, finding his designs completely thwarted, prepared to deal a heavy blow at Scotland, which he delivered next year.

Henry's Scottish policy.

In England, meanwhile, since the issue of "the Bishops' Book," it was clear that a more definite religious settlement was required under royal authority; and a new manual of doctrine, for which preparatory questions had been circulated in 1540, at last made its appearance in May 1543. It was essentially a revision of "the Bishops' Book" issued in 1537, to which the king had warily avoided giving any direct sanction. But in this form it received such sanction, with a preface written in the king's name, and it came to be known as "the King's Book," in contradistinction to "the Bishops' Book." It had, in fact, been very fully discussed, and had been approved by Convocation in April. The title prefixed to it was, "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man; set forth by the King's Majesty of England." In style it was decidedly an improvement on its predecessor, more condensed in its exposition of the creeds, and more explicit generally about the sacraments, a mere paragraph in the former treatise on the Sacrament of the Altar being now replaced by a long and elaborate exposition; but the chief novel feature, besides the preface, was a preliminary article on faith, probably due to Cranmer, setting forth the different acceptations of the word.

"The King's Book."

It is to be noted that the way for the compilation of this manual had been prepared about the time of Cromwell's fall, by a set of seventeen questions on the nature and number of the sacraments laid by the king before the bishops and a number of divines, whose answers are on record. To the same committee of divines, most likely, was entrusted the task of setting forth, and perhaps amending, the rituals in current use, and the fruit of their labours in this matter was a treatise entitled "Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England, together with an explanation of the meaning and significancy of them." This book, however, was never authorised even by Convocation, and is now only an antiquarian curiosity, though the fact that it was drawn up deserves attention, as we shall find it referred to at a later date.

On July 12, 1543, the king married his sixth and last wife, Katharine Parr, a widow more than twenty years his junior.

It is remarkable that this lady was one who rather favoured "the new learning"—that is to say, religious ideas at variance with old standards. New formularies of faith, however carefully drawn up, could do little, even with the aid of the Six Articles, to repress that underhand growth of heresy which the king himself, for purposes now gone by, had once so greatly stimulated. So the well-known story may be true, though no doubt considerably dressed up by Foxe, from whom alone it is derived, that Queen Katharine herself at some uncertain date before the king's death once stood in serious danger on account of her theology. What is more certain is that, just at the time of her marriage, four men about the court at Windsor were condemned as heretics under the Act of the Six Articles.

Katharine Parr.

Two of these, by name John Marbeck and Robert Testwood, were singing men, both probably of the Chapel Royal. The former, who alone escaped death by a royal pardon, was organist of St. George's Chapel, and had made some progress with an English Concordance to the Bible, of which Bishop Gardiner did not quite approve. The other two were Anthony Pearson, a priest, and Henry Filmer, a tailor. Marbeck's pardon may have been due partly to his musical gifts, partly to the friendship of Capon, Bishop of Salisbury. His offence mainly consisted in having made extracts from the writings of Calvin before the Act of the Six Articles was passed. Testwood, on the other hand, a ribald jester who, to express his disbelief, would pervert the anthem which he was singing with others, had also mocked the services in honour of relics, and, while telling the people they were worshipping stocks and stones, had broken off the nose of an image of Our Lady. Pearson had inveighed against the sacramental doctrine of the Church, and said it converted the elevation of the Host to the similitude of Christ hanging between two thieves; while Filmer, the tailor, said if the sacrament was more than a sign, then he himself had eaten twenty gods in his lifetime.

The Windsor heretics.

There were certainly indications, that notwithstanding the Six Articles, heresy, and irreverence also, was getting bolder than before. And who could wonder if, after past experience,

heretics expected some indulgence in high quarters in spite of the law? The king, indeed, was already alarmed at divisions which touched the court itself; for at this time a number of other gentlemen, some being of the Privy Chamber, with Haynes, Dean of Exeter, were likewise in trouble for heresy, and royal pardons had to be freely used to prevent inconvenient consequences. The king, of course, was completely orthodox now—he had never, indeed, professed to be otherwise—and Bishop Gardiner was trying to restore that decent respect for Church authority which had suffered so much discouragement in Cromwell's day. But unhappily the old modes of heresy-hunting were themselves demoralising, and an unpleasant part was taken in the business by Dr. London, Warden of New College, Oxford, who had become a prebendary of Windsor. He had long ago been active in the hue-and-cry when Garret escaped from Oxford; more recently he had been a monastic visitor under Cromwell, and his bearing towards the heads of nunneries had certainly not been delicate. His life, indeed, was disgracefully impure. But now at Windsor, under a new *régime*, he became a leading heresy-hunter. In this he overdid his part, with the result that he and two others, being brought before the Council, were convicted of perjury, for which they were condemned to the pillory, and also to ride with their faces towards their horses' tails at Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers over their heads declaring their offences. Nor was this penance, at least in Dr. London's case, the end of the punishment; for he was then remitted to the Fleet, and died in prison.

Dr. London.

Matters were coming to a crisis, however, between the old learning and the new. Every one felt that the latter had no small sympathy from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and while there was much religious division in Kent, some of the prebendaries of Canterbury and many of the gentry were moved to complain of the primate. A document was presented to the king, who thereupon one evening, being rowed past Lambeth, called the archbishop into his barge, and said to him, with merry humour, "Ah, my chaplain, I have news for you. I know now who is the greatest heretic in Kent." Cranmer, on being shown the paper, begged that commissioners might be appointed to investigate the

Cranmer and his prebendaries.

matter; but the king declared that he would trust the investigation wholly to the archbishop himself, in whom he felt perfect confidence. A commission was accordingly issued to him and some of his functionaries. The result, of course, was a foregone conclusion. Cranmer did enter into a pretty full examination of the matter, the records of which are now on the point of publication; but the effect could only be to silence clamour and to strengthen his authority.

Cranmer, in truth, was quite as necessary to the king as he had been from the first; and it was for the king's own interest to maintain in his place an archbishop of so much real learning and subtlety of thought, who was sound on the one great doctrine of royal supremacy. A change in the primacy was not to be thought of, and the clamour against Cranmer revealed a danger which it is not difficult to see had become a source of unpleasantness to the king himself. When Parliament met in January 1544, one of its most important measures was a statute to modify the operation of the Act of the Six Articles. In order to prevent malicious accusations for heresy taking the accused unprepared, it was enacted (35 Hen. VIII. c. 5) that none should be arraigned under the former statute except upon a presentment found by the oaths of twelve men before the commissioners; that the offences charged must have been committed within the preceding twelvemonth; and that no one should be arrested for heresy before indictment, except by warrant of two of the Privy Council. Thus it is clear that "the whip with six strings" had become rather inconvenient to those who were expected to wield it.

Modification of the Act of the Six Articles.

Another measure passed by this Parliament was "a bill for the examination of the canon law by thirty-two persons to be named by the king's majesty." This was intended to give real effect at last to a project referred to in the Submission of the Clergy in 1532, when they agreed to allow the canon law to be revised by that number of persons, half clerical and half lay. Acts had already been passed in 1534 and 1536 empowering the king to constitute such a tribunal, but no use had yet been made of the powers so given; and this statute was not acted upon either. The Church remained practically without law at all, though a draft

Proposed revision of the canon law.

scheme called *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* may have been partly drawn up during this reign by Cranmer.

Meanwhile the king, in alliance with the emperor, had made open war on France. He was already at war with Scotland, and now in 1544 the English burned Edinburgh and committed fearful ravages in that country. In June, shortly before the king crossed the Channel to invade France, an English litany was published by authority on account of the wars in Europe. Litanies, it should be observed, were at that time sung in procession, as had always been the custom, and the words sung were often called a "procession." The innovation of an English litany was enforced by royal letters to the archbishop, in which it was observed that the people came slackly to "processions" because they did not understand the prayers and suffrages used. Afterwards, however, a new litany was found desirable, and Cranmer received a commission to compose one by translating "processions" from the Latin. The result was a noble office, substantially the same[1] with that now in use, which was printed with Henry VIII.'s Primer in 1545. It was first sung in St. Paul's on Sunday, October 18, in that year. Cranmer seems to have abandoned the intention to add translations of some Latin hymns, such as the *Salve festa dies*, feeling that his metric powers were not equal to the task.

The primer in which this litany was published was a manual of English prayers for private use, set forth in order to supersede all previous compositions of the sort, whether in Latin or in English; for there were Latin primers of old standing, and the men of the new learning had not been slow to put forth such manuals in English adapted to recent changes.

In September 1544 the emperor made a separate peace with France; and next year, as Henry had no ally while at war both with France and Scotland, his position had become precarious—all the more so as the long-delayed Council for

[1] It is almost verbally the same except that it contains, immediately after the invocation of the Trinity, petitions to the Virgin, angels, patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, and so forth, to "pray for us," and, later, a prayer to be delivered not only from sedition and privy conspiracy, but also "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities." This last is a painfully jarring note in the most exquisite of English compositions.

the extirpation of heresy met at Trent at the close of the year. A common danger, however, brought the Protestants of Germany once more, though unwillingly, to his aid, and they were allowed to send representatives both to Calais and to the French Court to promote peace, the emperor himself at the same time receiving with the like view ambassadors both from England and France. Henry, however, when he saw himself so befriended, merely dallied with the matter and chose his own time to end the war. But meanwhile, as he was a most skilful opportunist, the prospect that he might require Protestant aid from Germany undoubtedly affected his tone on matters of religion.

The German Protestants negotiate between Henry and Francis I.

A new Parliament met this year (1545) on November 23. The main object, no doubt, was to obtain a heavy subsidy for the war, which was done. But the Lords were occupied, even on the third day of the session, with a bill "for the abolition of heresies, and of certain books infected with false opinions." This bill, after being read no less than five times and much discussed, at length passed unanimously, but was lost in the Commons. Another bill passed both Houses constituting a commission for the settlement of disputes about tithes in London—a subject which had been left in much uncertainty by the non-appointment of the commission of thirty-two on canon law. But the chief measure of the session was "an Act for the dissolution of chantries, hospitals, and free chapels." This was another measure to meet the drain on the exchequer occasioned by war; and its enactment was pressed all the more because founders, after the example of the royal visitors of the monasteries, had been taking surrenders to reclaim property given for pious uses by their ancestors. The Act accordingly annulled such conveyances and gave all to the king. But it was very wide in its sweep, and the heads of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were alarmed lest their endowments also should be confiscated, till they received positive assurances that these were to be respected.

Act for the dissolution of chantries.

Having obtained what he required, the king on Christmas Eve prorogued the Parliament with a very remarkable speech, in which, after thanking them for the subsidy granted, he

assured them that, notwithstanding their liberality in the Act just referred to, he was not going to impoverish colleges and schools to the detriment of learning and increase of poverty. But one thing he regretted to find, that there was a sad want of charity among them; for some called others heretics and anabaptists, and these again called the former papists, hypocrites, and Pharisees. This was greatly the fault of the clergy, who themselves preached against each other, some "stiff in their old *mumpsimus*," others too much set on their "new *sumpsimus*." But the laity, too, were in fault, who railed at bishops and spoke slanderously of priests instead of complaining to him, the king, when a bishop or priest preached perversely. They, moreover, abused the permission given them to read the Scriptures, and disputed, rhymed, and "jangled" that precious jewel, the Word of God, in every alehouse. And so, with an exhortation to both clergy and laity to mend their manners, and consider what St. Paul wrote about charity to the Corinthians, he dismissed Parliament till next November.

The king rebukes clergy and laity for want of charity.

One occasion of this extraordinary reproof we know with tolerable certainty; for it must have been in this session, if not in the last brief Parliament which met in the preceding January, that Sir John Gostwick, the king's treasurer of first-fruits and tenths, who was also knight of the shire for Bedfordshire, complained in the House of Commons of Cranmer's preaching at Sandwich and at Canterbury. It was apparent that in doing so Gostwick spoke for others besides himself, for he had no particular interest in Kent; and we may believe that the king's speech in proroguing Parliament was virtually in defence of Cranmer. At all events, it is evident from the account of the archbishop given by his secretary, Morice, that the king regarded Gostwick's complaint as evidence of a confederacy against him; for he asked in reference to it, "What will they do with him if I were gone?" And to Gostwick himself, whom he called a "varlet," he sent an angry message that if he did not acknowledge his fault to the archbishop and seek reconciliation, he would make him "a poor Gostwick," and punish him for an example to others.

Cranmer again complained of.

Another case in which the king interfered to protect Cranmer is well known because it has been dramatised by

Shakespeare. It could not have been later than this year, and was probably earlier—indeed, it was not improbably connected with the affair of the prebendaries in 1543. The king certainly in that year had encouraged accusers to speak freely, no matter how high in station the person accused might be. But the Council on this occasion observed that it was dangerous to proceed against so influential a member of their body as the archbishop, unless he was first committed to the Tower. On this they obtained leave to call him before them and commit him if they thought proper. But the king sent for him the evening before to put him on his guard, and gave him a ring to show them, if they proposed to make him a prisoner, that he recalled the matter out of their hands for a hearing before himself. In the morning, while the archbishop was made to wait outside the Council-chamber, his secretary, Morice, called Dr. Butts, the king's physician, to witness his treatment, and Butts informed the king. Cranmer, being called in, desired to see his accusers, but was told he must first go to the Tower; on which he appealed from the Council to the king, exhibiting the ring. Thereupon they all repaired to the king's presence and received a severe rebuke for their uncourteous treatment of the archbishop. The best commentary on the incident was that made at the time by Lord Russell in a remark to the Council: "Did not I tell you, my lords, what would come of this? I knew right well that the king would never permit my lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason."

Notwithstanding the king's rebuke to Parliament, there were abundant cases of heresy next year (1546). On Passion Sunday (April 11) Dr. Edward Crome, a famous preacher, preached at the Mercers' Chapel a sermon on the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice, the tendency of which was considered dangerous. Referring to the Act of last session concerning chantries, he used an argument which Latimer had used before him about the suppression of the smaller monasteries. Applauding the Act as well done, he observed that it could not be justified if trentals and masses benefited souls in purgatory. The logic was indisputable, but innovation in doctrine so soon after the king's book was not to

Dr. Crome's sermon.

be tolerated, and Crome, whose name had of old been associated with those of Bilney and Latimer, was a man whom it was thought necessary to keep within bounds. On the 20th he was required to sign a paper and to preach afterwards at Paul's Cross to clear himself of heretical imputations. He preached there accordingly on Sunday, May 9; but it was a sermon in self-defence, in which he said distinctly, "I am not come hither to recant, nor yet am commanded to recant." He was called next day before the Council, and declared, laying his hand upon his breast, that he considered that he had redeemed his promise; but witnesses who heard his sermon convinced the Council that he had not, and he was committed to custody till he should make a true recantation, which he did in another sermon at Paul's Cross on June 27.

Crome's examination led to that of others of like tendencies. The chief of these was Latimer, and besides him were four persons, named Huick, Lascelles, John Taylor (otherwise Cardmaker), Vicar of St. Bride's, and a Scottish friar unnamed. Latimer, who for six years had been living in enforced retirement, was committed to prison and his house in the country searched. Of the others, John Lascelles shortly afterwards suffered martyrdom. Cardmaker at this time escaped the like fate, merely, it would seem, for want of courage to hold out; but he was a martyr under Mary. The unnamed Scottish friar showed no constancy either. What became of Huick we do not know.

Other heretics examined.

In May, shortly after Crome's examination before the Council, one Thomas Kyme of Lincolnshire and his wife were summoned to appear before them. The couple did not agree well together, and the husband was soon sent home; but the lady, who was generally known by her maiden name of Anne Askew, was sent to Newgate for denying the received sacramental doctrine of the Church. For this matter she had already, in March of the preceding year, been questioned by the lord mayor and committed to the Counter; and she herself has left a painfully ridiculous account of her examination on that profound subject by civic authorities, who certainly were no match for her in disputation. With a good deal of trouble she was then put to bail after some meetings with the Bishop of London (Bonner), whose patience

Anne Askew.

she severely tried; for, having agreed, as he thought, to an orthodox declaration, she refused to sign it, but only wrote that she believed everything contained in the faith of the Catholic Church. But her liberation was arranged at that time. Now, however, she had become obtrusive again. Before she was committed to Newgate she was examined by the Council, especially by Gardiner, to whom she replied with a curious kind of insolence, not uncommon in heretics examined by bishops in those days, taking her stand on texts of Scripture. Thus, when Gardiner said he wished to speak to her "familiarly"—that is to say, not authoritatively as a bishop—she replied, "So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ." Gardiner then proposed to speak with her alone; but she refused, and gave as her reason "that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand." The lord chancellor then took up the examination, when she asked him "how long he would halt on both sides"; and being asked where she found that, she replied, "in Scripture." All her tongue fence was in the words of Holy Writ, and Bishop Gardiner declared that she was a parrot.

Her examination by the Council at Greenwich lasted two days, and occupied five hours the first day. She was ill and in great pain when sent to Newgate. On June 18 she was arraigned at the Guildhall for heresy in company with Shaxton, late Bishop of Salisbury, one Nicholas White of London, and John Hadlam, a tailor of Essex. They all confessed their heresies (which were in each case Zwinglian), and were sentenced to the fire. But being visited in prison by Bishop Bonner, Heath, Bishop of Rochester, and other divines, Shaxton and White were next morning persuaded to recant, and in the case of Shaxton at least the change seems to have been sincere and permanent. But Anne was more steadfast. On the Tuesday after her conviction she was taken from Newgate to "the sign of the Crown," where both Bonner and Sir Richard Rich tried to induce her to change her mind, but in vain. Then Shaxton, the newly converted, did the same; but Anne told him it would have been good for him never to have been born. Rich then committed her to the Tower, where she was questioned again who were of her sect or had encouraged her in her opinions; but she

Her firmness and courage.

refused to implicate any one. She was then put on the rack, Lord Chancellor Wriothesley and Sir Richard Rich actually turning it with their own hands to conquer her obstinacy. The atrocity seems unparalleled even in those rough days. But she was still firm, and, according to her own narrative, she afterwards "sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor," and would not be persuaded to give up her opinion.

Her martyrdom.

The end came on July 16. The Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and most of the nobles were seated under St. Bartholomew's Church in Smithfield, to see the dreadful sentence executed on a little company of saints considered as perverse disturbers of the faith. They consisted of Anne Askew, John Lascelles, a priest named Hemsley, and a tailor of Colchester. As usual, a divine was appointed to preach to the condemned, and make a last effort to reclaim them; and the divine appointed by the king for this function was Dr. Shaxton. There cannot be a doubt that his preaching was most earnest and sincere. Anne, however, criticised his sermon as he went on, approving some things, but calling out at times, "There he misseth, and speaketh without the book." Letters of pardon were offered to Anne at the last moment if she would recant, but she said she had not come thither to deny her Lord. Then the lord mayor cried, "Fiat justitia," and the faggots were lighted.

How little is it understood, in any age, that the world is governed by spiritual influences and not by mere brute force! If disbelief in transubstantiation was an error so very poisonous to the community, the poison was now spread tenfold; for men could not well believe that the faith in which Anne Askew died was antagonistic to Christian life. Just nine days before she suffered there had been a proclamation against erroneous books, and people were required everywhere to deliver up to the bishops or the Lord Mayor of London, to be burnt, all copies of Tyndale's and Coverdale's New Testaments, or of the writings of Frith, Tyndale, Wycliffe, Barnes, and other known heretics. A great bonfire of English books was accordingly made at Paul's Cross on September 26. But the burning of books was futile, for the burning of martyrs read a deeper lesson.

The reign of Henry VIII. was now near its close. But we must not pass over in silence the death of the Scottish martyr George Wishart and the murder of Cardinal Beton. There are certain unpleasant controversies concerning the connection of these two events; but the suspicions raised touching Wishart are not justified by the evidence, and are hard to reconcile with the character given of him by a devoted pupil. He was a travelled scholar, and seems to have been a man of sweet and self-denying disposition; but he made himself amenable to ecclesiastical law by preaching, even in spite of inhibitions, against the received doctrines as to the sacraments, images, purgatory, and so forth. He was burned at St. Andrews on March 28, 1546. But a faction devoted to England declared that his death should be avenged, and the threat was carried out on May 29. Henry VIII. had undoubtedly, for years, been anxious to see the Cardinal assassinated, and had approved of projects to take him off.

Martyrdom of Wishart and murder of Cardinal Beton.

But now we must look once more abroad, for several things have been taking place on the Continent which concern us not a little. The Protestants of Germany regretted their failure to make peace between England and France; and all the more so when the dreaded General Council, after many delays, actually held its first sitting at Trent on December 13, 1545. On the last day of the year the princes and cities of the Smalcaldic League, by their representatives at Frankfort, agreed to support each other by arms, if necessary, in defence of the Augsburg Confession against both pope and emperor. The Council, however, after a mere formal opening, adjourned over the Christmas season, and was occupied at first mainly with questions of order. Our English cardinal, Pole, was one of the three papal legates who opened it; in preparation for which he had already written his treatise *De Concilio*. On February 2, 1546, the representatives of the Protestants wrote from Frankfort to Henry VIII. to urge him to declare before all the world that he did not acknowledge its authority. As the year went on the princes were anxious again for a defensive league with Henry VIII., which even the Duke of Saxony now thought expedient; and Henry in reply was

The Council of Trent.

quite willing to entertain the idea if they would send commissioners declaring how much each member of the league would contribute. He proposed to call it "the League Christian," and along with their commissioners he desired that they would send him the names of ten or twelve of their learned men, of whom he would choose a few to confer with upon religion.

A Protestant league again proposed.

No doubt he was considering what he could still do with the Protestants of Germany, though in the end he left them to fight their own battle with the emperor. At this time he had made peace with France, and a French embassy, under Admiral d'Annebaut, arrived in England in August to receive his oath to the treaty. On this occasion, if we may really trust a strange report, which, though later, seems to come from a very good source, secret communications passed between the king and the ambassador, in presence of Cranmer, about turning the mass into a communion and putting an end to the pope's authority in both realms. Cranmer was certainly contemplating a considerable change of ritual; and about the beginning of the year, taking advantage of Gardiner's absence in the Low Countries, he had nearly persuaded the king to sign letters to himself and the Archbishop of York for the abolition of certain old ceremonies, namely the ringing of bells on the Vigil of All Hallows through the night, the covering of images in churches during Lent, the lifting up of the veil that covered the Cross on Palm Sunday, and the kneeling to the Cross at the same time. These changes apparently had been recommended to the king by Cranmer after conference with Bishops Heath of Worcester and Day of Chichester; but in the draft letter which he prepared for the king to send to him and the Archbishop of York, orders were further given for the cessation of "creeping to the Cross," a ceremony used on Good Friday, which, being an act of adoration, was declared to be against the Second Commandment as expounded in the book of "Necessary Doctrine." The king, however, declined to sign the letters, being warned by Gardiner that any innovation in religious matters in England at that time would imperil those peace negotiations

Certain ceremonies proposed to be abolished.

on which he was engaged, and leave him, perhaps, without a friend upon the Continent.

AUTHORITIES.—State Papers, vols. i., iii., v., x., and xi., and Calendar of Henry VIII. (*Letters and Papers*), vols. xv. and following; *Hamilton Papers;* Foxe; Burnet; Wilkins; Gardiner's *Declaration against Joye; Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. i.; Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, and Nichols's *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camden Society); Cranmer's *Letters* (Parker Society); *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (printed by Day, 1571; reprinted by Cardwell, 1850). For the "Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England" see Collier, v. 106-124 (8vo edition). For George Wishart see Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, Knox's *Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland*, and other authorities cited in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. For the communications with d'Annebaut touching the mass see Foxe, v. 502-4, 692 (Cattley's ed.). For Irish history see Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors*.

CHAPTER XIII

EDWARD VI. AND PROTECTOR SOMERSET

THE revolution effected by Henry VIII. was a thing without a parallel in history, and it is hard to realise it all at the present day. Professing to the last a zeal for religion, which in early days was not altogether insincere, he had destroyed the old autonomy of the Church, suppressed the monasteries, confiscated an enormous mass of property, and hanged, beheaded, or intimidated all who looked for the restoration of the system he had broken down. In his proceedings he had, to a large extent, gratified zealots who were enemies to all Church law and discipline, and of course he had won over to his side the grantees of monastic lands. At the same time, notwithstanding the superabundant wealth left him by his father, which was very soon dissipated, he had ground down his people with taxes in order to strengthen himself against possible combinations abroad; he had twice been absolved by Parliament from the repayment of his loans; he had levied illegal benevolences, and, as a final step, had debased the currency more than once. Yet, after all, the exchequer was ill able to bear the strain of his last wars in France and Scotland. So what was to become of government during the long minority of his successor was an anxious prospect from the first.

Effects of Henry VIII.'s policy.

For some time before Henry's death the event had been anticipated, but that had not made things better. The Duke of Norfolk and his son had appeared a little too forward, with the result that Surrey had been sent to the block, and Norfolk himself would have suffered the same fate but for the death

of the king. Henry died early in the morning of Friday, January 28, 1547, and the sentence was not carried out, but the duke was kept in prison. Heavy and perplexing responsibilities rested with the Council, and the king's death was kept secret nearly three whole days. Nothing was said about it even on Sunday the 30th, when the church of the late Grey Friars was re-opened, and after mass was sung Holbeach, Bishop of Rochester, announced in his sermon that the king had given to the city of London, by patent, the hospital of St. Bartholomew's and the church of the Grey Friars, with two other city churches, which were henceforth to form one parish named Christ-church, with an endowment of 500 marks a year for relief of the poor. Next day, however, the king's death was publicly announced; and young Edward VI., whom his uncle, the Earl of Hertford, had brought up from Hertford, arrived in London. The Council in the Tower had the will of the deceased king read over to them, and declared their determination to stand by it. Most of them, indeed, were expressly named as executors, and charged with the government till young Edward attained the age of sixteen. But the name of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was left out; and though Henry had always made much use of his services, it was said that he had left him out on purpose. The Earl of Hertford was appointed Protector.

Affairs at his death.

Just after the royal funeral Paget declared to the Council the names of certain persons whom he said the late king had, in secret conference with him as his secretary, declared his intention to raise to higher honours, and the Council acted on the suggestion. Hertford was created Duke of Somerset; his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, was made Lord Seymour of Sudeley; William Parr, Earl of Essex (the queen dowager's brother), was created Marquess of Northampton; Dudley Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick; and the lord chancellor, Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. Sir Richard Rich also became Lord Rich, and two other peerages were conferred. Hard upon this followed the coronation (February 20), and according to precedent a general pardon was granted. But some notable persons were excepted from the pardon by name, viz. (1) the Duke of Norfolk; (2) Cardinal Pole, who

Promotions.

was still unjustly treated as a traitor beyond sea; (3) Edward Courtenay, an innocent prisoner in the Tower, son of the late Marquess of Exeter; (4) Dr. Pate, a refugee, on whom the pope had conferred the empty title of Bishop of Worcester. Two other persons, named Fortescue and Throgmorton, completed the list of exceptions.

Government was thus placed entirely in the hands of men who had risen to prominence in the latter part of the late reign, and who were interested to maintain, and even carry further, the revolution that had taken place in Church principles. The one great leader of a more conservative policy, the Duke of Norfolk, was in the Tower, thankful that his head was still on his shoulders; Bishop Gardiner was excluded from power; and on March 6 the lord chancellor (the newly created Earl of Southampton) was compelled to deliver up the great seal, which was given to the custody of William Paulet, Lord St. John. Thus every obstacle was removed to a progressive policy in Church matters, for which, in fact, a foundation had been laid a month before Wriothesley's resignation, when the bishops were required to take out fresh commissions under the new king for the discharge of their spiritual functions. In this Cranmer set a willing example, as it was a means in his case to strengthen his authority. But it was certainly distasteful to others; and in their name, as well as in his own, Gardiner made an ineffectual remonstrance.

It is interesting, however, to note the state of matters ten days before the coronation. On February 10 the Council were compelled to listen to the complaint of Bishop Bonner and the lord mayor against the incumbent and churchwardens of St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane, who, without authority to do so, had taken away the images in their church and set up the royal arms in place of the crucifix, painting the walls with texts of Scripture, "whereof some were perversely translated." The excuse was that, nearly a year before, the roof was in such a state of decay that it was in danger of falling in, while the crucifix and images were so rotten that they fell to dust in removal, and the churchwardens, having spent so much money on the roof, could not afford new images. They confessed, however, that they might have erred in setting up the king's arms, though they had done it out of a

St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane.

good zeal, and that they had taken down other images in the chancel because to some of the parishioners, as they considered, they were objects of idolatry. The case is curious as showing the tendency towards Protestantism in the city even in the last year of Henry VIII. The Council, however, were not yet prepared to condone such proceedings, and would have committed the rector and churchwardens to the Tower, but on their very humble submission simply bound them in recognisances of £20 apiece, with four sureties each, to answer any further charge, and that meanwhile they should erect a new crucifix in two days' time.

Very shortly after this, however, during Lent, sermons were preached at Paul's Cross by Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, and by Dr. Nicholas Ridley, a chaplain of Cranmer, against images and other ceremonies; while at court Cranmer's commissary, Glazier, preached against the observance of Lent itself as obligatory. These things could not pass without protest; and Gardiner, who had submitted loyally to everything done by authority under the late reign, felt bound to speak his mind about them. If my Lord of St. David's, he said, and others of the same mind, had a new order of things in view, by all means let them plan it out, and present the fruit of their labours to the young king when he came of age; but there was no authority at present to make such changes. By the beginning of May, however, images were pulled down and wilfully mutilated at Portsmouth within Gardiner's own diocese, and he wrote not only to the Mayor of Portsmouth, but to Captain Vaughan, who commanded the garrison there, to learn what amount of sympathy there was with such outrages; for if the spirit of iconoclasm was strong, preaching against it might make matters worse. Scripture warned him, he said, not to cast precious stones before hogs, and such offenders were, if possible, worse than hogs, and had always been so regarded. Even Luther reproved such doings, and Gardiner himself had seen images standing in the Lutheran churches in Germany. Captain Vaughan sent the bishop's letter to Somerset, who made a very subtle but not very ingenuous reply. The Protector began by professing to agree with the bishop in disliking innovations, but feared that the bishop

Gardiner protests against revolutionary preaching,

and mutilation of images.

might himself bring them on by too much outcry. He then descanted on the analogy between images and books as teachers, asking why it was worse to burn a wooden image than the book of God's own word. Images, too, were always liable to abuse, and it was a pity the bishop had not removed them himself, before the captain had occasion to do it. "If your lordship be slack in such matters," Somerset wrote, "he that removeth false images and idols abused doth not a thing worthy of blame." This showed pretty clearly that an act which was at the time quite illegal, besides being offensive to old notions of reverence, was upheld, if it had not been actually stimulated, by those who held the reins of government. The removal of all images, whether "abused" or not, was evidently in contemplation, and there was no great intention of punishing those who did the work unauthorised.

Dr. Richard Smith's retractation.

It looked like another sign of the times that Dr. Richard Smith, master of Whittington College, preached at Paul's Cross on May 15, revoking some of his past opinions, and committing to the flames two books that he had published not long since on the mass and on ecclesiastical tradition or "unwritten verities." The act seems to have been one of weakness; for in preaching again shortly after at Oxford he endeavoured to explain it away, saying that it was a retractation, not a recantation, and he continued afterwards to maintain much the same position that he had done at first; for which it was found desirable to remove him from his preferments. On June 19 Dr. Perne, another distinguished preacher, recanted in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft what he had preached on St. George's Day just before in favour of the worship of images.

Absence of trouble from abroad.

It was fortunate for the new government that they did not receive at this time much trouble from abroad. At first, indeed, there was no likelihood of this. In March the Council made fresh treaties with France; the emperor was well occupied in his war with the German Protestants, and the Government were cautious enough not actively to interfere between them. But the death of Francis I. in the end of March made a great change; for the new French king, Henry II., was well known to be quite opposed to his father's policy, an enemy of heretics, un-

friendly to England, and anxious for the recovery of Boulogne. In April, moreover, the German Protestants were completely crushed by the decisive battle of Mühlberg. Still, it did not suit the new King of France to make war for the recovery of Boulogne, and England was left in peace to work out her own problems unmolested by foreign powers. It was only vital to make sure of Scotland; for the French king and the Guises would naturally aid the governor of that country in stamping out rebellion. And already in March a treaty had been made with the murderers of Cardinal Beton to maintain them in holding the castle of St. Andrews against the governor—a policy which the English Council pursued all the more steadfastly after the accession of Henry II.

Treaty with Beton's murderers.

Ever since the cardinal's murder in May 1546 the murderers had been besieged in St. Andrews Castle by the forces of the Scottish government; but their communications by sea were not effectually cut off, and as, besides receiving at intervals supplies from England, they held the governor's son a prisoner, they for some time would not listen to terms which the government were only too anxious to offer them. But in December, victuals falling short, they were more anxious to treat, and terms were at length arranged. The besieged agreed to give up the castle, or give pledges for its delivery, as soon as the governor could procure for them a papal absolution for the cardinal's murder; and the governor agreed to let them keep possession till then, and that they should be wholly relieved from the legal consequences of their crime. Favourable as these terms might well appear, the besieged had no intention of keeping them. It was enough that the siege was raised for the time, and before the end of March they refused to surrender. Immediately afterwards (for he says himself it was at Easter) John Knox, then a tutor to the sons of some heretical Scottish lairds, transferred himself and his charges for security into the castle, and by and by began, in the town, his extraordinary career as a preacher. Sheltering among a company of murderers and treaty-breakers, he propounded what he had fully convinced himself was the true Gospel of Christ, and he quite approved of the crime which had brought them together.

John Knox at St. Andrews.

The Protector might accordingly, it would seem, have reckoned on the devotion of a little band of Scotsmen in a Scottish stronghold by the sea to assist him in enforcing a union of the two kingdoms under English government by the future marriage of their two young sovereigns; but a French fleet came to the aid of the Scottish government, landed men at St. Andrews under Pietro Strozzi, and reduced the castle on July 30. This was a most serious blow to English policy, and doubtless strengthened Somerset's determination to make Scotland once more feel the weight of his powerful arm in a new invasion, for which he was preparing.

Meanwhile, in May, an inhibition was served on the bishops forbidding them to exercise their powers of visitation, in view of a proposed royal visitation; but within a fortnight the order was relaxed, and the royal visitation was deferred. In June the Council's attention was called to the fact that some men, formerly Carthusian monks, who had escaped beyond sea and resumed their habits abroad, continued to draw their pensions through friends at home, and steps were taken to put a stop to the practice. In the following month two men were arraigned at the Guildhall for having conveyed over the sea the Carthusian John Foxe, intending also to send to him the left arm of the martyred prior Houghton, which he had kept in England as a relic.

On the last day of July there issued from the press of the king's printer, Richard Grafton, two important publications, the first being the well-known "Injunctions" of Edward VI., the second the equally well-known First Book of Homilies. These Injunctions were addressed to the king's subjects generally, both clergy and laity, and their general tendency was to maintain periodical preaching against "the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction," to destroy images which had been abused with pilgrimages, and all shrines, pictures, and monuments of superstition. The Gospels and Epistles were to be read in English, and the litany no longer to be said or sung in procession, but kneeling. Perhaps one of the most significant provisions was for an alms-chest to be set near the high altar, in connection with which the incumbent was to remind his flock that as they had formerly bestowed much substance,

The Royal Injunctions and the First Book of Homilies.

"otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles," and other "blind devotions," they should now be more ready to help the poor and needy. At the same time, as there was much uncharitable abuse of priests, the people were ordered to remember that the priestly office was appointed of God, and to treat them with due respect. The Book of Homilies was a collection of twelve discourses, the preparation of which had been suggested as early as 1542, and a first draft laid by Cranmer before Convocation next year at the time the book of "Necessary Doctrine" was published, the object being to check the extravagance of ignorant preachers; but it had not been authorised by Convocation, and it was now put forth simply by authority of the Council.

Early in September the Protector set out with an army into Scotland, and met with little resistance till he came within a few miles of Edinburgh, where he won the bloody battle of Pinkie on the 10th. After ravaging the country he thought it well to return southward. Meanwhile on the 20th his victory was celebrated in London, the Bishop of Lincoln (Henry Holbeach, just translated from Rochester) preaching at St. Paul's, "with a solemn procession [*i.e.* litany] kneeling, with their copes in the choir, and after that *Te Deum* sung." Next day all the parish churches in London also "kept a solemn procession on their knees in English, with *Te Deum*."

Battle of Pinkie.

It should be remarked, however, that the bishop of the diocese had been committed to the Fleet Prison two days before the "procession" at St. Paul's. The general visitation had begun at Westminster on September 3, where Bishop Thirlby met the royal visitors, and received the new Injunctions and Homilies. But two days later, when they came to St. Paul's, Bonner declared to them, desiring the fact to be registered, that he received those Injunctions and Homilies under protest that he would observe them if they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of the Church. For this he was called before the Council, where he frankly acknowledged that, on better consideration of his duty of obedience, he considered his protest unreasonable and of bad example, and desired

Bishop Bonner committed to the Fleet.

that his revocation of it might be registered as the act itself had been. It was thought necessary, however, to place such a dangerous bishop in confinement, where he remained for a few weeks, till delivered by the general pardon. Meanwhile all images in St. Paul's and in the London parish churches were taken down and broken by order of the visitors. The churches were at the same time white-washed, and the Ten Commandments written upon the walls.

Bonner's old rival, Gardiner, was also sent to the Fleet just one week after him, on September 25. He, too, was opposed to the royal visitation, although as yet it had not reached his diocese; and he was also opposed to the war with Scotland. He considered for one thing that the Council were going beyond their powers in taking steps like these during a minority. Even the Scots might be left alone till the king came of age. But in matters of religion, at least, till that time came, "the King's Book" was the only binding authority. "The King's Book" had been authorised by Parliament; the Injunctions were at variance with it, and Gardiner had seen, to his sorrow, many cases in which even compliance with a royal command could not be pleaded in justification of the violation of an Act of Parliament. The *præmunire* brought to bear, first on Wolsey, and then on the whole clergy of England, was a strong example. The Injunctions had no validity in law. This was the ground on which Gardiner mainly took his stand; but he offered frankly to submit if his objections could be fairly met, repeatedly proposing to discuss the matter in conference. Free discussion, however, was not intended by the Council. The bishop was arbitrarily sent to prison, and remained for several weeks in stifling air, ill fed and out of health, cut off from all intercourse with the world, and denied, for some time, even the comfort of a physician to attend to his ailments. Yet even from his prison he addressed repeated letters to the Protector, perfectly submissive and respectful in tone, but strongly urging the danger of the new policy, and criticising the contents of the Book of Homilies. He found fault chiefly with the homily on salvation, which was of Cranmer's composition; on which Cranmer got him fetched out of prison one day to a conference at the deanery of St. Paul's. He also criticised very

Bishop Gardiner also.

severely a translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, which was issued along with the Injunctions for use in churches. He declared it to be simply an abomination, a bad work in itself, and badly translated besides. Yet it was to be forced on the country at an expense of thousands of pounds to its purchasers, the clergy and churchwardens!

To return to the Injunctions. The order for the removal of images was framed on the same lines as former injunctions. It was only such images as led to superstition that were to be removed. But there had always been a strong iconoclastic feeling among certain sections of the community, and the attempt to observe the distinction between "abused" images and others was not long kept up. Orders were indeed given to set up again images that had been removed, wherever they could be shown not to have been abused; but in September, when the Protector was in Scotland, this order was suspended till his return, lest the reinstatement of the images should "engender contention among the people whether they were abused or no." And disputes really did take place, though in some places, as at St. Neot's, it was for *not* setting the images up again that the king's commissioners met with rough usage. Nevertheless these disputes became so frequent—"almost in every place," as we find it stated—that an order was issued in Council on February 21 following, for the removal of all images whatever; and the bishops were enjoined to give effect to a decision which was declared to be the only way of allaying contention.

Images.

Meanwhile Parliament had met in November 1547, while Bishop Gardiner, who should have attended it, still remained in prison. It was opened by Lord Rich, who had recently been made lord chancellor. One of the first subjects that came before it was the necessity of repealing a number of severe laws passed in the late reign. By a large and comprehensive statute it was ordained that, with some exceptions contained in the Act itself, nothing should henceforth be accounted treason that was not so defined in an Act of Edward III.; all heresy Acts from the days of Richard II. were repealed, and all the new felonies made in the last reign were to lose that character; the Act of Proclamations too was repealed. But the royal

Parliament.

Severe enactments abolished.

supremacy was still guarded by the pains of treason, though mere words against it no longer incurred the extreme punishment except on a third offence. Further, the horrid Act for boiling poisoners alive was done away with; so that really a very considerable advance was made towards liberty and humane government.

Then came an Act touching the sacrament, which stands first among the statutes of the year. It contained first a provision against irreverent speaking or disputations on the subject, which had become very common, enacting that after May 1 following these things should be punished with fine and imprisonment. Then it was ordained that henceforth the communion should be administered under both kinds, and denied to no one without lawful cause. An Act was also passed for the appointment of bishops by letters-patent without the mockery of a *congé d'élire*, and for the holding of bishops' courts henceforward in the king's name.

Communion in both kinds authorised.

One other bill bearing on things ecclesiastical was a natural sequel to the Act touching chantries passed at the end of the preceding reign. That Act had given King Henry all colleges, chantries, guilds, and so forth, chargeable with first-fruits, which had been dissolved by the acts of alleged founders or patrons taking the property back into their own hands, and the king was empowered during his life to direct commissions under the great seal to take possession. But now that king was dead, and many of these foundations had not yet been acquired by the Crown. A more sweeping measure, too, seemed requisite to relieve an embarrassed treasury, and meet the expenses of the Scottish war and the danger of hostilities with France. Such, as we know from an express statement in the Acts of the Privy Council, was the real object for which the new enactment was pressed. The preamble, however, says nothing of such purposes, but refers to the superstitious uses to which chantry funds were put, suggesting that they might be turned to much better account in the erection of grammar-schools, augmentation of universities, and relief of the poor—objects to which, of course, they were never really applied. The new bill gave to the Crown all colleges, free chapels, and chantries existing

A new Chantries' Act.

within the last five years, with all their lands and rents, all endowments for obits or anniversaries, and the property of all guilds and brotherhoods, from Easter following. It excited very strong opposition in both Houses, most of the bishops, including Cranmer, speaking against it in the Lords, while in the Commons it ran considerable risk of being shipwrecked altogether, until the burgesses of Lynn and Coventry were promised by the Protector that, if they would withdraw their opposition, the important guilds in their constituencies should have new grants of their lands from the Crown. The burgesses acquiesced, and the Act passed. Moreover, the government fulfilled its promise. Indeed, we may judge that they could hardly have done otherwise, seeing that the guild lands of the town of Lynn were given to maintain the pier and seabanks, and prevent inundation of the neighbouring country; while as to Coventry, the confiscation of the guild lands of Corpus Christi would simply have been the ruin of an already decaying city.

The Convocation of Canterbury had met at St. Paul's one day after the Parliament at Westminster, and its acts, though in many things fruitless, had undoubtedly no small bearing on the legislation. Cranmer, in his opening address, urged the two Houses to consider some mode of reforming the Church according to scriptural rules. This led to the remark that the Six Articles stood in the way, and the repeal of that statute presently met the objection. The Houses set to work in a very admirable spirit, and the archbishop received from the Lower House four petitions of very weighty import. The first was that, in accordance with the Statute 35 Hen. VIII. c. 19, the long-deferred commission of thirty-two persons should be constituted, so that the Church might no longer remain without definite laws. The second was that the clergy of the Lower House might be associated with the House of Commons according to ancient custom, or else that Acts concerning religion or the interests of the clergy might not pass in Parliament without their being heard in the matter. The third was that the books made by certain prelates and doctors by command of Henry VIII. for a revision of Church services might be submitted to them; and the fourth was that some relief or allowance should be

Convocation.

made to new incumbents charged with first-fruits. No answer is recorded to any of these petitions; but in their fifth and sixth sittings the Houses agreed unanimously to communion in both kinds, thus preparing the way for the parliamentary Act. At their seventh sitting (December 9) the Lower House became clamorous to know what the bishops were doing with their petitions, and further, to learn what assurance they might have for freedom of discussion with a view to the formation of new canons, seeing that the liberty to make any had been denied them ever since their submission in 1531. In their last sitting, which was on December 17, they passed a resolution by 53 to 12 that all laws and canons against the marriage of the clergy should be declared void; and a bill to that effect was actually carried through the Commons, but came too late before the Lords to pass into a statute this year.

The general visitation which continued while Parliament was sitting was of course carried on in the spirit of the Injunctions. The visitors took oaths of allegiance and renunciation of papal authority, sold the Homilies and the Paraphrase, and inquired into many things. Whether the bishops had been too severe in excommunication, whether the English "procession" was used in churches, what images, shrines, and monuments of idolatry were left, and whether the parsons had "the Bible of largest volume" in their churches, were the principal points. The visitors doubtless exercised their discretion about some matters, and there were probably local variations in the injunctions they gave to clergy and people. Those for the deanery of Doncaster have been preserved. They order, among other things, that wakes and "plough Mondays" should be put down as encouraging idleness and drunkenness, that abrogated holidays were never to be announced, and that the clergy should teach their parishioners that fasting in Lent was only a human institution which might be forborne on account of sickness or by licence.

The royal visitation.

In London one result of the labours of the visitors was that, apparently after they had got rid of other images, one of Our Lady, "which they of Paul's had lapped in cerecloth" and hidden in a corner of the cathedral, was brought to light and placed before the pulpit at Paul's Cross to give effect to

a sermon which Bishop Barlow preached against idolatry on November 27, the first Sunday of Advent. This image, however, formed but a secondary object on the occasion; for the bishop was able also to exhibit for general execration "a picture (*i.e.* image) of the Resurrection of Our Lord made with vices, which put out his legs of sepulchre, and blessed with his hand and turned his head"—something of the same old childish kind as the Rood of Boxley. The day, no doubt, had come for putting away childish things, and "after the sermon," as the chronicler goes on to say, "the boys broke the idols in pieces."

Another result of the visitation, which was not confined to London, seems to have been to stir up a great deal more questioning and disputation in the community than the government found it easy to deal with. High and low views of the sacrament were declared from different pulpits; curious and by no means reverent questions were raised as to the manner of the Presence in the Eucharist; the matter was further discussed in alehouses; the host was nicknamed by some "Round Robin" and "Jack-in-the-Box"; rhymes, ballads, and every form of vulgarity were used to degrade the most sacred rite of Christianity. The London 'prentice boys, too, hustled priests in the city and Westminster Hall, and plucked from them their caps and tippets. Orders in council were issued against these abuses; and on December 27 a proclamation was issued that neither party should preach about the sacrament anything not contained expressly in Scripture till the king, by the advice of his council and clergy, should define the doctrine, and what forms of words might be safely used about it.

On New Year's Day 1548, which was a Sunday that year, Latimer's voice, long silenced, was heard once more at Paul's Cross, and he continued to preach there on other Sundays that month. He also preached on Wednesday the 18th, in the place called "the Shrouds" outside the Cathedral, his famous sermon "of the Plough." In this he denounced the evils of the time, one of which he considered to be "unpreaching prelates," and declared the devil to be the most industrious preacher in England. But he also inveighed very strongly against the

Latimer preaches at Paul's Cross.

widespread corruption and fraud which were undermining social life and government. Nor was he less outspoken on this subject when in the following Lent he was invited to preach before the king at St. James's, and had a pulpit set up for him. But while Latimer's tongue was loosened, Bishop Gardiner was not so free to speak his mind. On January 8 he was brought before the Protector and Council and informed that his offences were remitted by the general pardon. But it was not without "a good lesson and admonition" that he was discharged from prison; and his liberation, after all, was only temporary, as it was not intended, apparently, to give him real freedom.

There now came a rush of proclamations touching religion, partly conservative in tendency, but mainly otherwise. On January 16 one was issued in view of the coming Lent, regretting that the king's subjects, now that they had a more perfect and clear light of the Gospel, did not increase in good works, but despised fasting, prayer, and alms; for though the king did not wish them to regard days and meats as differing in holiness, yet he desired the old days and times to be observed, both that men might subdue their bodies and that the industry of fishing might be maintained for the good of the commonwealth. All persons, therefore, unless excused by law or licensed by authority, were enjoined under pain of imprisonment to observe the old fast days. On the 27th, however, Cranmer intimated to the Bishop of London that it was ordered in council that no candles should henceforth be borne on Candlemas Day, nor ashes on Ash Wednesday, nor palms on Palm Sunday. But immediately following this, on February 6, came another order in council forbidding other innovations in church services which individual clergymen had introduced on their own responsibility. Nothing was to be changed or omitted by any clergyman on pain of imprisonment, except the candles, ashes, and palms just mentioned, and the old ceremonies of creeping to the cross and taking holy bread and holy water, the omission of which had been authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Then came on February 21 the order, already mentioned, for the complete removal of images, which

Proclamations.

Old rites abrogated.

the archbishop intimated by a letter to the Bishop of London on the 24th.

On March 8 was published a little book (or pamphlet, rather, for it consisted of ten leaves only) setting forth the "Order of Communion" as it was henceforth to be administered under the new Act of Parliament. This was prefaced by a royal proclamation to give it validity, as it was to come into use at the approaching Easter, that is to say, on April 1; on which day, accordingly, English services began at St. Paul's and other churches. The Latin mass, however, was neither abrogated nor superseded; it was for the present to go on as usual, the new ritual being only for the communion of the laity, and the book itself expressly enjoining the priest to use the old office as heretofore "without the varying of any other rite or ceremony," except that he was to bless "the biggest chalice" or some "cup or cups full of wine with some water put into it; and *that* day" (*i.e.* when there was a communion) "not drink it all up himself." In short, the new "order" consisted simply of prefatory exhortations and a general confession and prayers to be said after the priest's mass, with a form for administering to the laity in English whenever there was a general communion. And of every such occasion notice was to be given beforehand on the first Sunday or holiday preceding, or at least one day before, with a set admonition to the congregation how to prepare themselves for it. The most notable feature in the new service was the general confession, which was intended, as declared in the book itself, to supersede the necessity of private confession and absolution of the individual, wherever he himself was content not to be shriven. The new order was thus calculated to cause the least possible disturbance in the minds of persons content with the old ritual, while making an important concession to those who disliked the confessional. The form was essentially that laid down in the celebrated *Consultation* of Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, which had just recently been translated into English.

Order of Communion.

Cranmer was no doubt preparing the way for something more than this about the time that he got Parliament to sanction communion in both kinds; for it must have been then, or immediately after, that he circulated among some

leading bishops and divines a set of eleven questions bearing upon the sacrament of the altar, judiciously arranged so as to obtain as large a basis of agreement among different schools as possible. On the first question, for instance, Bonner, Heath, Thirlby, and Tunstall were quite in agreement with him, that the sacrament was not instituted to be received by one man for another. On the other points, especially the third question, concerning the nature of the oblation of Christ in the mass, there was naturally some divergence of views; but the later questions were mainly historical and questions partly of expediency as to special customs, such as priests receiving alone, masses satisfactory, and reservation. The first series of questions was then followed by a second, and afterwards by a third; which at least revealed to Cranmer how much sympathy he might expect in promoting changes.

Revolt in Cornwall.

Shortly after this the general order for the removal of images produced a revolt in Cornwall, where one of the royal agents named William Body was stabbed by a priest in taking them down. Disaffection had further been promoted by rumours of new taxation on weddings, christenings, and burials. The disturbance, however, was easily quelled, and a general pardon was issued to the rebels on May 17, on the ground that they had been misled by false rumours. Over thirty persons, however, were excepted by name, and their fate was a warning against rebellion. But the Council, too, had received a warning not to proceed too fast, and further proclamations seemed to show that they had taken it to heart. On April 24 one was issued inhibiting all preaching, except that of the Homilies, by other than licensed preachers, the reason given for its issue being that indiscreet and malicious priests had spread the rumours just referred to. But on May 23 the Protector found it necessary to address a circular letter even to the licensed preachers, exhorting them not to stir the people to further innovations, but to rebuke those who would make changes of their own mind without authority.

Hancock's preaching.

It was no easy matter, however, if such was really the intention, to keep all the licensed preachers within the bounds of law. One of them, named Thomas Hancock, has left a written account of himself, by which it seems that in the first year of King Edward he preached

at his native place of Christchurch (in Bishop Gardiner's diocese, and probably when the bishop was in prison), using in his sermon a favourite argument, that the host could not be God because God was invisible, and that to kneel before it was horrible idolatry. This argument he repeated at Salisbury after the proclamation against giving nicknames to the sacrament; but in spite of warning he declared the host to be an idol. At the assizes the lord chief justice compelled him to find ten sureties of £10 apiece with his own recognisance of £90 for future obedience to the law; but he immediately rode from Salisbury to the Duke of Somerset at Sion and persuaded him to give an order for the discharge of his sureties. He took the letter in triumph to the chief justice at Southampton, and would have mounted the pulpit there, but the chief justice objected, and the mayor persuaded Hancock to allow another to preach. This substitute, whose name was Griffith, challenged the chief justice to his face for allowing images in the church, and "the idol," meaning the host, to hang as of old by a string over the altar.

One might have supposed that cases like this fairly justified a new proclamation issued on September 23, inhibiting even the licensed preachers from preaching anything but the enjoined Homilies till some further order should be taken for the settlement of controversies; with which object, it appears, there was then a conference of bishops and divines going on at Chertsey Abbey. But what good was it ordering fanatics to keep within bounds? It may not, indeed, have been for them that the proclamation was intended. Hancock soon after settled at Poole, where he again, after interfering with the services on All Souls' Day, got a letter from the Protector "for his quietness in preaching of God's word"; and at Poole he remained a "minister" till the end of Edward's reign.

In short, it was Henry VIII.'s old policy over again, pursued a little further. Heresies were encouraged underhand; and bishops, who ought to have restrained heretics, were themselves restrained if they wished to fulfil the old notions of episcopal duty. Most of them, indeed, were not eager to do so further than they were permitted; for the greater number now had been appointed under royal supremacy, and all were naturally disposed to yield much deference to those who ruled

the State. But there was one among them who at least required legality as his guide and not mere arbitrary commands; and the attitude of Gardiner continued to be a source of perplexity to the Council. On his release from the Fleet in January he was given to understand that he would now be expected to conform like others to the Injunctions and Homilies, and a paper was delivered to him on which he was required to give his opinion a few days after in writing, being told at the same time that he must not think of altering the form, as it was agreed to by other learned men. He wrote his opinion accordingly, and as it was not the opinion wanted he was committed this time to his own house as a prisoner. To influence him, Nicholas Ridley, who had not long before been made Bishop of Rochester, was sent to him, and afterwards Master Thomas Smith and one William Cecil, whose great abilities Somerset had already detected. In Lent he was allowed to visit his cathedral city, but soon after was forced to surrender his mastership of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He then received a new summons to appear before the Council, but ill health prevented his compliance till Whitsuntide, when he came up to London in a horse-litter. It was alleged afterwards, though the charge was utterly untrue, that on returning to his diocese he had caused his servants to be secretly armed; and further (which was rather more plausible), that he had forestalled some preachers sent to his diocese by going into the pulpit himself and warning the people in his sermon against unknown preachers of novelties. But it was not for these things that he was now to answer before the Council. A number of other charges were brought against him, chiefly of disobedience to new orders touching ritual and preaching. Some of these he declared to be untrue, saying that the Council had been misinformed, while in other cases the thing complained of was not against any positive order at all. He had at once, when so ordered, discontinued the use of candles on Candlemas Day, the bearing of palms on Palm Sunday, and the creeping to the cross on Good Friday; but he had kept up the "sepulchre" at Easter, and said he thought it would be wrong to do otherwise, as it was even against the king's proclamation to make any unauthorised change.

Bishop Gardiner.

Other charges were then brought up against him, which he seems to have answered not less effectually—one of them being that he had said in preaching, with a too significant emphasis, that "the Apostles went from the presence of the Council—of the Council—of the Council." This iteration he absolutely denied, declaring it was not his habit of preaching. But the Council were not satisfied, and the Protector told him he must tarry in London. He said he was willing to obey their pleasure, but hoped, as he was no offender, that he might have some country house not far off to retire to, suggesting that he might borrow the use of Esher, a former residence of the Bishops of Winchester within their diocese, which he had been compelled to surrender to the rapacity of Henry VIII. The Protector said if he had a country house he would willingly lend it him. In the end he was required to make a written statement of his views about ceremonies and send it to the Protector. Dismissed for a time to his own house, he was afterwards desired, through Cecil, who visited him on the part of Somerset, to preach before the king, and to give in a written copy of his sermon beforehand. To this he objected, as it was treating him like a culprit, and the Council had not convicted him of anything wrong. He was then called to a conference with Somerset on the limits of episcopal authority, and told the duke he was willing to discuss the matter with his legal advisers. To this, however, Somerset objected; and that same afternoon, when Gardiner complained to Mr. Smith of the demand that he should write his sermon, the latter told him it was only desired that he should speak of the subjects specified. Gardiner agreed to do so willingly, adding that he thought he could conscientiously say what ought to give satisfaction; and Somerset himself, to whose presence he was brought again, agreed to this understanding. There were, indeed, minor subjects in the programme which Gardiner said that he should pass by; but to this no objection was made, and the Protector gave him leave to choose the day on which he should preach.

He chose St. Peter's Day, June 29; but some days before he received visits from Cecil, who tried to extract pledges from him as to what he would say, and urged him particularly not to speak of the sacrament or the mass. "At least, not doubtful

matters," he added, when he saw that Gardiner was displeased with the suggestion; and on Gardiner asking what doubtful matters, he replied, "Transubstantiation." Gardiner told him he had specially promised to speak of the mass and would fulfil his pledge; as to transubstantiation, Cecil evidently did not know what he meant, but he would speak of "the very presence" of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, which was the Catholic faith, and no doubtful matter. Next day, which was the day before that appointed for the sermon, he received in the afternoon a letter signed by Somerset which gave him great disquietude. It was an express command to forbear from treating of matters which remained in controversy among the learned about the sacrament, as it might occasion disturbance, and it was proposed ere long to settle them "by public doctrine and authority." The bishop neither ate nor drank that night, nor rested in bed, nor broke his fast next day till he had delivered his sermon before the king. There was really little controversy then among learned Englishmen on such matters; but after painful study the bishop believed he had found a way to do what was required of him, and he had a very patient hearing from a large assembly. Then he returned home and dined at the late hour of five, persuading himself that he had given satisfaction; but on the afternoon of the following day, while making merry with friends, he was waited on by two gentlemen and a company of the guard, who conveyed him to the Tower.

Gardiner troubled in preparing to preach;

preaches,

and is taken to the Tower.

The justification for this arrest given by the Council, for their own satisfaction and that of foreign courts, appears in their records under date. Briefly it was—first, that Gardiner alone had refused obedience to the king's visitation and injunctions, which might have occasioned trouble in the realm; for this, however, he had only been for a time "sequestered to the Fleet," where (it was most falsely declared) he had been as much at ease as if he had been in his own house. Then he had been set at liberty to repair to his diocese, where he began to set forth matters again to engender strife, and had caused more contention "in that one small city and shire than was almost in the whole realm." Next

The Council's defence of their conduct.

came the stories of his arming his servants and forestalling the preachers sent by the Council. Afterwards, being sent for, the Council had left him at liberty on a second promise of conformity, only willing him to remain in his house in London, because they thought it meet to sequester him for a time from his diocese. At his house he began "to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither commission nor authority." Then he offered to declare his conformity to the world in a sermon, but on the day appointed he "most arrogantly and disobediently, and that in the presence of his Majesty, their grace and lordships, and of such an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been seen," spoke of certain matters contrary to an express commandment given to him on the king's behalf, and used such a manner of utterance as was like to have stirred a great tumult. So, to check his arrogance, as past clemency had been fruitless, it was determined that he should be committed to the Tower.

At this time there were troubles within the kingdom and without. Somerset's commission about enclosures on June 2 was an attempt to remedy crying grievances, which apparently brought upon its author the illwill of some of his fellow-councillors. In Scotland the war was again active, and little Queen Mary was conveyed securely away to France to be married ten years later to the Dauphin. But it concerns our purpose more to remember the famous *Interim* imposed at this time by Charles V. on his German subjects as a temporary settlement in religious matters until controversies should be more fully decided by the Council of Trent. It was promulgated in July, the very month of Gardiner's committal to the Tower, and was resented by both parties. One result was that many Lutheran divines migrated from Germany into England, where they were received with favour and influenced the Protector's counsels. But of this hereafter.

With Cranmer's aid the Protector was already intent on bringing about a change in the whole of the Church's ritual. This was evidently the thing foreshadowed in his letter to Gardiner the day before Gardiner's sermon, and we can to some extent trace the progress of the idea. On September 4 the Protector wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, commanding him, until such time as a general order could be

taken for the whole realm, to use in college chapels the same ritual in mass, matins, and evensong as was used in the king's chapel. Thus it would seem that the Chapel Royal had already adopted an order of its own, in which compline was omitted, and perhaps the other services were not unlike those of the First Book of Common Prayer, the preparation of which, if not already begun, was set on foot very soon after. As the young king himself noted in his journal, "a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor" composed a uniform order of prayer, which was soon afterwards laid before Parliament and received the sanction of law. The bishops and divines, however, seem to have met first at Chertsey Abbey. For a new proclamation was issued on September 23 inhibiting all preaching whatever on account of the violent controversies then raging, until "certain bishops and learned men" assembled by the king's command had taken order therein; and the *Grey Friars' Chronicle* says that those bishops met at Chertsey Abbey. It was time to do something, for there was actual fighting inside St. Paul's and other London churches on the question whether there should be any mass or no.

First Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

Parliament met again after prorogation on November 24, and soon proceeded to discuss bills for the marriage of priests, one of which passed the Commons with ease, but only got through the Lords in February, when it received the royal assent. On December 14, however, the draft of the new prayer-book was brought into the House of Lords, and a long and fervid discussion arose, to listen to which the Commons flocked to the galleries. In this discussion it was revealed for the first time that Cranmer had given up the belief in transubstantiation. The book was finally authorised by a statute—the first Act of Uniformity—which was passed on January 21, 1549.

Marriage of priests authorised.

Just before this, on January 18, the Protector's brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, was committed to the Tower for treason, and Parliament was called on, before it was prorogued, to pass an Act of attainder against him, under which he was beheaded on March 20. A bold and reckless character, his ambition had already led him on a dangerous course when, within a few

Attainder of Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

short weeks of the death of Henry VIII., he secretly married the king's widow, Katharine Parr. But the story of his turbulence, profligacy, and corruption need not be reported here.

In April there arrived from Strassburg, unable to endure the *Interim*, the German theologians, Bucer and Fagius, who were welcomed by Cranmer to Lambeth. Fagius, an eminent Hebraist, died shortly afterwards at Cambridge; and there Bucer after a time was made regius professor of divinity. The like professorship at Oxford was already held by another foreigner, the Italian Vermigli, better known by his first two names of Peter Martyr, who had come over in 1547 at Cranmer's invitation with his countryman and ally, Bernardin Ochino. To Ochino, who had once been a Capuchin friar, the archbishop gave a prebend in his cathedral at Canterbury. Cranmer was constantly inviting foreign divines to England to assist in a new religious settlement. Peter Alexander of Arles, who had been chaplain to Mary of Hungary, came also in 1547 to share his hospitality at Lambeth, and to receive English benefices. Next year came John à Lasco, the Pole, on his first visit. Nor was it for want of pressing that Melanchthon himself was not induced to make his abode in England. Several other Germans besides Bucer and Fagius came over in 1549. These foreigners differed from each other even on the sacrament, about which Bucer maintained a higher view than Peter Martyr. But Bucer's aid against transubstantiation was much wanted, and Peter Martyr himself, before Bucer came to England, wished for his presence there, confessing in private correspondence that those who possessed any learning in the country were almost entirely opposed to what he called religion. The real theologians in England still stood upon the ancient ways; and it may be remarked that Peter Martyr's predecessor in the chair of divinity at Oxford was Dr. Richard Smith, whose recantation at Paul's Cross had been followed by a return to the old theology, and he had, in consequence, been ousted from his professorship.

Foreign divines in England.

In fact, the measures taken at this time to revolutionise religious teaching at the universities were most energetic. A royal visitation of both universities was ordered in the spring

and summer. The commission for the Cambridge visitation had been issued as early as November 12, 1548; that for Oxford only on May 8, 1549. But both visitations began in May, and the very large powers conferred upon the visitors for converting endowments to other uses were such as to amaze even Bishop Ridley, who was one of their number, and whose name was on both commissions.

Visitation of the universities.

At Oxford, the heads of houses forbade their scholars to attend Peter Martyr's lectures; and when he came to the subject of the Lord's Supper, papers were set on church doors challenging a disputation with him. This he affected, at first, to be quite willing to encounter; but when pressed after his lecture, he required time to prepare, though the subject was precisely what he had been lecturing about, and then said he could not undertake it without the king's leave, as it would tend to sedition. At last matters were arranged in a form that he could agree to. On May 17 he set up a "provocation" at St. Mary's, supported by the presence of the university visitors, who appointed the 28th for the disputation. Dr. Smith meanwhile, suspecting unfairness, had absconded; but his place was taken first by Dr. Tresham, and on subsequent days by Dr. Chedsey and by Morgan Philipps. The disputation was concluded by an oration of the chancellor on the 31st, and the general impression seems to have been that Peter had the worst of it, but that he was supported by authority; for he would have broken down more than once had he not been backed up by Dr. Cox, Dean of Christchurch. Of course, it would have looked ill if Peter Martyr had been silenced, for he had just before preached the opening sermon at the visitation on May 24, the visitation itself having been suspended till the disputation should be got over! It was resumed on June 4, and resulted in the imposition of what are known as the Edwardine Statutes, "whereby," as the university historian tells us, "the whole frame of the government was altered." There was also a plentiful expulsion of orthodox preachers and scholastic disputants, whose places were filled by Calvinists.

Disputations at Oxford,

At Cambridge, on the other hand, there was certainly

much to amend, if the visitors were so inclined. "It would pity a man's heart," said Latimer, preaching before the king on April 6, just before the visitation, "to hear what I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges, for their livings be so small and victuals so dear that they tarry not there, but go everywhere to seek livings, and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity. Alas! what is that?" Poor men required aid to study, for there were only great men's sons in colleges, and these were not intended to be preachers. On the 8th the king gave the university a body of new statutes, but they were only promulgated just before the visitation, which was begun on May 6 and continued through the month. Disputations were appointed to show that transubstantiation had neither scriptural nor patristic authority in its favour, and that the Lord's Supper was no sacrifice but only a remembrance of His death. These took place on June 20, 24, and 25; and on the 30th Bishop Ridley, who had given most able support to Dr. Madew in the intellectual combat, preached on the same subject at St. Mary's. The visitation terminated on July 4, the visitors leaving behind them a set of injunctions. Bishop Ridley, it may be observed, wrote during this visitation to the Protector protesting against an instruction to unite Clare Hall with Trinity Hall, as it would divert to the study of mere human law a college founded for the study of God's Word. But he received a sharp answer, and after some correspondence consented to the disendowment of Clare Hall. The proposed fusion, however, was averted after all, apparently on the remonstrance of the imprisoned Bishop Gardiner, who was still Master of Trinity Hall, though soon afterwards deposed.

and at Cambridge.

Such were the means used to degrade university teaching, and to set forth new doctrines supported by royal authority. Some, indeed, declined to acknowledge as royal authority the formal acts affecting religion passed during the king's minority. But there could be no doubt of the effect on the religion of the people when doctrines of scholastic origin were discredited at the universities, and the government used other means to

promote the revolution than those which they could openly avow. English books and pamphlets which had been printed abroad, and forbidden at home during the reign of Henry VIII., began to be imported not long after his death. From Zurich came translations of the confession of Zwingli; from Bâle violent attacks upon the mass. The press in England, too, was free—at least to the enemies of old beliefs. Tyndale's New Testament was widely spread by the efforts of the Privy Council, while pamphlets of the most scurrilous kind against the old religion had the freest possible vent. On the other hand, the votaries of that religion had generally to go abroad to find printers, for at home they might meet with interference. The government really wanted argument on one side only; and it is past a doubt that they favoured indirectly the spread of a kind of literature which they professed openly to condemn.

If his own reckless brother had been a danger to the Protector, there was no lack of other dangers besides. The alliance of France and Scotland was never more menacing to England, with the infant Queen of Scots now in France, betrothed to the Dauphin, and the French king, Henry II., intent on the recovery of Boulogne. The country, too, was still unquiet about enclosures, and the new prayer-book furnished an additional grievance. Yet the Protector was at this very time building his magnificent palace of Somerset House out of the materials of a cloister at St. Paul's and the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, both of which he demolished for the very purpose. Popular commotions took place in districts wide apart—in Hertfordshire, Somerset, and Lincolnshire; then in Devonshire and Cornwall; in Gloucestershire, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, and Surrey; in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire; in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, and also far away in Yorkshire. Special watch had to be kept at the gates of London itself, and special orders given for the defence of the city. Then, in addition to domestic troubles, France declared war upon England in August and won Ambleteuse, called by the English Newhaven, near Boulogne.

Insurrections in various counties.

France declares war.

The domestic disturbances arose chiefly from social causes. Enclosures were an old evil, but they had much increased since great lords had received large grants of abbey-lands, and sought to make the utmost profit of them by enclosing commons on which tenants had been wont to pasture their cattle. This alone had helped to increase the cost of living, for poor tenants were forced to sell the cattle which they could not graze, and the grantees made further profits in selling the fed animals to the butchers. Somerset's proclamation and commission against enclosures had evidently been of little effect, except to show that grievances had some chance of a hearing. These movements were animated by no disloyal spirit. Even Kett's rebellion in Norfolk, the most formidable of them all, was really a very orderly movement, seeking redress for injustice and admitted hardships. How Kett made his camp on Mousehold Hill, overlooking Norwich; how he kept his court there for the discussion of grievances at "the Oak of Reformation"; how he drove the Marquess of Northampton and his forces out of the city, and how at last Warwick quelled the movement, with the aid of Italian mercenaries, in the bloody battle of Dussindale, may be read in other histories. The rising in the West, which was earlier in date, was more distinctly connected with religion, and demands more special treatment here; for Kett's followers accepted the religious innovations, and many of them wanted more. But it was otherwise in Devonshire.

Kett's rebellion.

By the Act of Uniformity the new prayer-book came into use on Whitsunday, June 9; and however unpleasing the change may have been to many, there was really little in it to which even good Catholics could object, except things omitted, unless it was the authority by which it was imposed. But on Whitmonday, the day after its first use at Sampford Courtenay, the parishioners compelled their parish priest to return to the old ritual. They would have no alteration of religion till the king was of full age. Local justices remonstrated, but to no effect. The men of Sampford Courtenay advanced to Crediton, while a rising took place in Cornwall besides. The gentry, half sympathising with the remonstrants, did nothing

The Western rising.

to check the movement. The Protector ordered two gentlemen of the west country, Sir Peter and Sir Gawain Carew, to go down and pacify the people by forwarding their complaints to the Council. He also commissioned Coverdale and other preachers to go down and preach obedience. The Carews reached Exeter and hastened to Crediton, where they found that the malcontents had barricaded the roads and fortified themselves in barns. The barns were set on fire and the men driven off, but the burning of the barns and the menacing speeches of some against old religious usages only increased the mischief. Clist St. Mary next offered a troublesome opposition, and by and by the country-people formed the siege of Exeter. Lord Russell had been sent after the Carews to strengthen them, but Sir Peter had to go to him in Somerset and warn him of the state of the country, and Russell sent him on to the Council to represent matters to them. The Protector, who had expected gentle measures to suffice, was angry at the burning of the barns; and though Sir Peter justified what he had done by his commission signed by the king himself, Chancellor Rich declared it was no sufficient authority, as it was not under the great seal. Sir Peter, however, protested against this unreasonable contention, and was sent back by the Council with promise of effective support. Exeter stood a five weeks' siege, and was at last relieved by Russell on August 6.

The malcontents, meanwhile, had sent up their demands to the Council, as required. They were drawn up in sixteen articles, all showing a dislike of innovation and distrust of the existing government. They would have the decrees of all general councils observed; the Act of the Six Articles revived; the Latin mass celebrated by the priest without any one communicating along with him; the sacrament hung over the high altar as before, and delivered to the laity only at Easter, and then only in one kind. Priests should administer baptism at all times, week-days as well as holidays. They would have holy bread and holy water, palms and ashes as before, and images set up again. They would not have the new service in English, as it was "but like a Christmas game"; souls in purgatory should be prayed for; the English Bible should

Demands of the insurgents.

be called in again. Two of their divines, who seem to have then been in custody, they desired to be sent down to them in safety. They wished Cardinal Pole to be sent for from Rome, and admitted as first or second of the king's council. Then followed articles for limiting the number of servants a gentleman should keep according to his income; for refounding two chief abbeys in every county; for a safe-conduct to Humphrey Arundel and the Mayor of Bodmin to show the king further; and for four lords, eight knights, twelve esquires, and twenty yeomen to remain pledges with them till these petitions were granted by Parliament.

These were bold demands, and in some things tended really to the perpetuation of old abuses; for it is clear that lay communion was at this time very rare, and that the people left their religion too entirely to the priesthood as a thing to be done by deputy. To demand that the priest should receive alone except at Easter was really a violation of old Church principles, which required laymen to communicate at least three times a year. On the other hand, strange as it may seem to the modern reader, the revival of the Act of the Six Articles would have been welcomed as tending to religious quiet. And this, no doubt, was the feeling of many good men, and, among the rest, of Cardinal Pole, whose recall from Rome was so eagerly desired; for Pole considered that Act the very best thing that Henry VIII. had ever done. The articles of the insurgents, in fact, expressed such a widespread feeling that Cranmer was called upon to answer them, which he did with the skill and clearness of view that might have been expected, but not without some browbeating and lecturing of the petitioners on their folly and presumption.

Cardinal Pole.

The reference to Cardinal Pole in their demands suggests a word or two about his position in exile. We have seen that he was excepted from the general pardon at the beginning of the reign. He had been one of the three legates appointed by Paul III. to open the Council of Trent, but had been obliged by his health to withdraw to Padua, and afterwards to return to Rome, where he heard of the death of Henry VIII. His first desire was to reclaim his native country from schism, for which object he hoped the pope would send legates to the

emperor and to France; and he wrote to the Privy Council urging that reconciliation with the See of Rome was a first condition of stable government. Henry VIII., he urged, would have been deprived of his kingdom by the pope if other princes had agreed to execute the sentence, and the possibility of such a thing seemed greater now if his son were trained to walk in the same paths as his father. The Council, however, would not even see Pole's messenger; but in spite of this and further discouragement he wrote again on April 6 of this year, 1549, by special messengers, both to Somerset and to Warwick, offering, if they would not admit his return to England, to repair to the neighbourhood of the English Channel to a conference on points of difference. The Protector sent him a rude reply, taxing him with presumption in offering a place of conference to his own king or to his commissioners, showering contempt on the papal authority which England had so long forsaken, and making light of the national dangers of which Pole had warned him. Somerset, at the same time, sent the cardinal a copy of the new prayer-book approved by Parliament, to show that religion was by no means despised in England, but was well cared for by the government. Pole replied in a very long letter on September 7, to which he added a postscript on hearing of the rebellions in Norfolk and the West of England, which seemed to him an ample justification of all that he had written.

The Council, no doubt, felt that it would be expedient, if possible, to use suasion as well as force to allay tumults; and they desired Bonner, as Bishop of London, to preach at Paul's Cross on the unlawfulness of rebellion. Bonner's authority would go for much, and, since his submission to the royal visitation, the Council thought they might rely on his tractability. He had acquiesced hitherto in all that was enjoined about candles and ashes, the communion service, and the like; and he had lately received commandment to abate some services, named the Apostles' Mass and Our Lady's Mass, still kept up in his cathedral, and to forbid communion at any but the high altar there, which orders he had duly passed on to the dean for execution. He had also taken submissively a rebuke addressed, not to him alone, but to the other bishops as well,

Bishop Bonner asked to preach against rebellion.

for negligence in enforcing the use of the new service-book. Of course, he could have no difficulty in preaching against rebellion, but, as in the case of Gardiner, the Council insisted on dictating to him beforehand what he should say. They drew up in four articles "special points" that he was to treat of in his sermon. Like Gardiner, however, he took his own line. Preaching before a very large audience on September 1, he spoke much of the Real Presence; and though he insisted strongly on the duty of allegiance, he omitted entirely to speak of one of the four articles laid down for him—namely, to declare the king's authority of no less validity in his early years than if he were thirty or forty years old. On this he was at once denounced by John Hooper and William Latimer (Master of the College of St. Laurence Pountney), and a commission was issued to examine him. Cranmer, Ridley (Bishop of Rochester), Secretary Petre, and Dr. May, dean of his own cathedral, were the commissioners before whom the case was opened; in addition to whom, at the second sitting, appeared the king's other secretary, Sir Thomas Smith.

Bonner's examination.

Bonner at once put in a protestation against the competence of the tribunal. He knew both Latimer and Hooper to be heretics, and that the latter, on the very day of his public sermon, had dared to preach within his diocese an opposite doctrine of the sacrament purposely to contradict him. It was something new appointing heretics to examine bishops; the contrary course had hitherto been the custom. But, the doctrine of the sacrament being thus mentioned, Cranmer interposed some remarks far from reverent about it, which Bonner declared himself sorry to hear. There are, doubtless, not many who have read through the whole process of the examination in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. But if any one, neglecting the martyrologist's irrelevant gibes, will take the trouble to go through the whole carefully, he will find the following conclusions pretty well established. First, that Bonner was animated by no spirit of disobedience, but fairly intended to comply with all that was required of him. Second, that the article which he had omitted was not at first included in the paper delivered to him, but was a mere after-thought added to it by Sir Thomas Smith by the Protector's command. Third, that his omission to

touch upon the point was really accidental, for he had meant to speak about it, and had collected a number of notes as to historical cases of kings under age, and the allegiance due to them; but having accidentally dropped these notes, and being asked further to declare from the pulpit the contents of a lengthy bill put into his hands, reporting the victories gained over the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire, the point of the king's authority during his nonage had slipped his memory. And finally, it would seem that the real object of this irregular and unjust prosecution was simply to deprive a bishop who was so strong an upholder of the still recognised doctrine of transubstantiation. The whole case was prejudged, and, in spite of several appeals which he made to the king and the lord chancellor, sentence of deprivation was passed against Bonner on October 1, and he was committed a prisoner to the Marshalsea.

Just four days after this, the Protector was taken thoroughly by surprise. He issued letters in the king's name dated October 5, calling upon all loyal subjects to defend the persons of the king and himself against a dangerous conspiracy. Warwick had just recently come back from subduing the Norfolk rebels, and had the Council at his command. The Council next day sent for the lord mayor and had London at theirs. The Protector fled from Hampton Court to Windsor. On the 7th he was proclaimed a traitor, and the special watch at the gates of London, which had been suspended since September 10, was begun again. On the 14th Somerset was brought from Windsor and lodged in the Tower.

Arrest of the Duke of Somerset.

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Bishop's *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*; Frere's Revision of *Procter's Book of Common Prayer*; Cranmer's *Letters* (Parker Soc.). The above contain the principal sources. Some of the documents will also be found in the Appendices to Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* and to Tierney's edition of Dodd's *Church History*. For a modern Church History that of Dixon may be referred to. For what was done at the universities, Wood's *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*; Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*; Dyer's *History of the University of Cambridge*; Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHURCH UNDER NEW MASTERS

THE Protectorate was at an end. Somerset had fallen from power without a contest. He had, no doubt, weakened himself by arbitrary conduct and unwillingness to hear counsel—which was one of the matters charged against him when he was in the Tower. He had also set up a Court of Requests in his own house, and was further accused of selling offices and the king's lands, of using "multiplication" and alchemy to debase the currency, of issuing a proclamation and a commission against enclosures, of sympathising with rebels and not taking prompt steps to put them down, of neglecting to amend defects in the fortification of Boulogne,[1] and of some other things besides, which we may construe as we will. When he was a prisoner he confessed to the charges, but that was often done by prisoners of State to secure lenient treatment. Their general bearings were clearly twofold: first, that he sympathised too much with the people in the matter of enclosures; and secondly, that by arbitrary and illegal steps he had forced on a revolution. In the former matter the interests of other lords of the Council were touched; in the latter he had offended old conservative feeling.

Accusations against Somerset.

His fall accordingly was believed at first to portend a religious reaction. Mass was celebrated again in college chapels at Oxford. The imprisoned bishops, Bonner and Gardiner, looked for relief, and men of the advanced party dreaded the result. "The

Religious reaction expected.

[1] Taken by the English in 1544.

papists," wrote Hooper, "are hoping and earnestly struggling for their kingdom"; and he added, touching Bonner, "should he be again restored to his episcopal function, I shall, I doubt not, be restored to my country and my Father which is in Heaven." He might well have grounds for saying so; for the religious changes which he favoured had been forced. In the summer they had been pressed on the Princess Mary herself, who flatly refused to use the new prayer-book, authorised though it was by Act of Parliament, declaring that such an Act was not worthy of the name of law, and her father's executors had broken their oaths in passing it. She, like Gardiner, considered that Henry VIII.'s laws as to religion were binding till the new king came to years of discretion. She was afterwards taxed with having encouraged the Devonshire rebels by her obstinacy; but she denied having given the least countenance to their proceedings.

On November 4, Parliament resumed its sittings, and, not unnaturally, it was a chief care of the government to pass an Act against unlawful assemblies such as had just taken place. It was to be high treason now for a knot of even twelve persons if they sought the life of a privy councillor, or if their aim was to alter the laws or to pull down enclosures, to refuse to disperse when ordered. But a good deal was done about Church matters. On November 14 the bishops complained that their jurisdiction was no longer respected; they could neither cite nor punish any one, nor compel a man to appear in church against his will. The Lords listened to their complaint with regret, and desired them to draw up a bill to remedy the evil. They did so; but when the measure was produced, the Lords considered that they arrogated too much to themselves. A mixed committee of laymen and bishops was accordingly appointed, and the result of their labours was a bill which passed through three readings in December, but in the Commons apparently was superseded by a new bill, which only succeeded in passing there before the prorogation, and never reached the House of Lords. Parliament.

After the Christmas recess a notable Act was passed. The scheme for the revision of ecclesiastical laws by a mixed commission of thirty-two persons had already been three times

before Parliament in the preceding reign, and three different statutes had been passed—in 1534, 1536, and 1544—to enable the Crown to give effect to it; but all these efforts had been fruitless, as no commission had been issued. Now, however, one more statute was passed to the same effect, allowing three years for the issue of a commission. On January 31, 1550, the bill passed through its last stage in the Upper House, but it did so under protests from Archbishop Cranmer, and from Bishops Tunstall of Durham, Goodrich of Ely, Aldrich of Carlisle, Heath of Worcester, Thirlby of Westminster, Day of Chichester, Holbeach of Lincoln, Ridley of Rochester, and Ferrar of St. David's—men of very different leanings in theology. It then, however, successfully passed the Commons, and took its place on the Statute Book. An Act appointing six bishops and six other persons to draw up an Ordinal for consecrations was also passed and became law in spite of the opposition of five of the bishops. But the most violent piece of legislation was an Act directed against books and images.

Commission for revision of ecclesiastical laws.

As the use of the prayer-book was now to be enforced, all the more ancient service-books were to be given up to be destroyed, except Henry VIII.'s Primer, which was still allowed on condition that the invocation of saints contained in it should be blotted out; and all images which remained in churches were likewise to be destroyed, except, as the Act said, monumental images "of any king, prince, nobleman, or other dead person which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint." A curious condition for tolerating an image in church! This bill, begun in the Lords on January 22, passed on the 25th with protests from six bishops and eight lay lords, but was returned from the Commons in the afternoon of the same day, having passed through all its stages. An attempt had meanwhile been made by a royal letter to Cranmer dated on Christmas Day to force the clergy to give up the books to their metropolitan to be "defaced and abolished," the object being, as therein stated, to disappoint those who expected, in consequence of the Duke of Somerset's apprehension, a revival of "their old Latin service, their conjured bread

Act touching books and images.

and water, with such-like vain and superstitious ceremonies," as if the new prayer-book had rested only on the duke's authority and not on that of Parliament. Notice was also taken of the tactics sometimes employed to defeat the Act; for Holy Communion was in many places omitted altogether, the parishioners refusing to pay for bread and wine. The archbishop was directed to convent such persons before him, admonish them to keep the order, and, on their refusal, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures. But though this letter was dated December 25, nearly a month before the bill was introduced into the House of Lords, Cranmer seems to have felt it unsafe to act upon it without parliamentary authority, and his letter to the clergy in pursuance of it was only dated on February 14 following, after the Act had become law.

While Parliament and the Council were thus making it clear that there was to be no religious reaction in England, things were done at Rome in secret conclave that might have powerfully affected the future of religion, both in England and in the world. Pope Paul III. died on November 10, 1549; and after the cardinals had been shut up for a new election, Pole was informed one evening by two of his colleagues that he had already two-thirds of the votes, and they were assured they could make him pope by "adoration." But Pole himself desired the matter to be deferred till next morning that they might proceed deliberately. He felt quite as much the responsibility of the position as its dignity, and so he lost his chance. On February 8, 1550, the Cardinal de Monte was chosen, and became Pope Julius III.

Cardinal Pole and the papacy.

In England on February 6 the Duke of Somerset was released from the Tower on giving surety of £10,000 that he would stay at Sheen, or at his own house of Sion, and not seek to approach the royal presence unless sent for. He was, however, at once restored not only to liberty but to luxury; and on April 10 he was readmitted to the Council, where his influence procured about that time the nomination of Hooper as Bishop of Gloucester against the opposition of almost all the other prelates. But a good deal had been doing with bishops and

Somerset released from the Tower.

bishoprics just before, as we shall see presently. Meanwhile, as the government had its hands full at home, a useful but inglorious peace was made at Boulogne on March 24, by which that town was restored to France for a sum of 400,000 crowns; and the English further agreed to surrender all the forts they held in Scotland, several of which the Scots had already recovered by force of arms. With this ended the great project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage.

Peace made with France and Scotland.

The new English Ordinal for consecrations was published by Grafton in March, in good time before the date, April 1, on which it was to come into use. Hosts of elaborate ceremonies authorised by the old *pontificale* were abolished, and no place was found for the ordination of ostiaries, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, or sub-deacons. These minor orders disappeared, all at once, from the Church of England. Bishop Heath of Worcester, refusing his consent to the new book, was called before the Council on February 8 and sent to the Fleet on March 4. Something now had to be done about Bonner's vacant bishopric of London; and first it was a little improved by the abolition (April 1) of the newly established bishopric of Westminster, Thirlby being conveniently transferred to Norwich, where, as eager reformers remarked, he could do less mischief, and where a vacancy had been made by the retirement of old Bishop Rugg. Thus a more extended sphere of activity was prepared for Bishop Ridley, who was transferred from Rochester to London on April 1. But the woods of the See had been shamefully ravaged during the voidance, and Ridley himself on being made bishop had to consent to the alienation of the manors of Braintree, Southminster, Stepney, and Hackney, with the advowson of Coggeshall in Essex, in compensation for the lands of Westminster; and those manors were immediately afterwards granted away to three powerful noblemen.

The new Ordinal.

Sees of Westminster and London merged.

Ridley determined on an immediate visitation of his diocese; but before he did so, a gloomy tragedy was enacted on May 2, when a woman named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, was burned in Smithfield. She had been condemned a full year before, on

Joan Bocher burned in Smithfield.

April 29, 1549, under a commission issued a fortnight previously for the prosecution of anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new Book of Common Prayer. The government of Somerset, to say the truth, was not much in earnest about putting down heretics, but anabaptists were an extreme sort who were then rather troublesome, and it was important at the same time to protect the new prayer-book from obloquy. The commission obtained some recantations of Unitarian and other opinions; but Joan took the extraordinary view that, though the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's body by consent of her "inward man," Christ took no flesh of the Virgin, who was born in sin like others. She was quite convinced that she was right, and was fortified in her resolution to suffer by the example of Anne Askew. "It is a goodly matter," she told her judges, "to consider your ignorance. Not long since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them."

Ridley's visitation began on May 5, and a strong visitation it was. The articles he laid down to be inquired of touched, first of all, the purity of the lives and conversation of the clergy, and whether they kept their houses and chancels in sufficient repair and took care to have the service properly maintained; then whether dignitaries preached at least twice a year; whether licensed incumbents were in the habit of preaching, and unlicensed ones procured licensed preachers; whether the new services were used, whether any spoke against the Book of Common Prayer or defended insurrection, sold the communion for money, or had trentals of communions (like the old trentals of masses); also, whether anabaptists or others separated themselves from their fellow-parishioners; whether masses were held in private houses, whether any abolished usages were still maintained, and whether any artificers refused to work on abolished holidays. These were the principal points. But the injunctions he gave were drawn up with a view to a radical change of usages, not mere literal acceptance of things already ordered. The second

Ridley's visitation of his diocese.

especially, insisting that no more ceremonies should be used in communion than those appointed by the new prayer-book, forbade any minister to "counterfeit the popish mass," either by "kissing the Lord's board, washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel or the receipt of the holy communion, shifting the book from one place to another, laying down and licking the chalice after the communion, blessing his eyes with the sudary thereof, or patten, or crossing his head with the same, holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head after the receiving of the sacrament, breathing on the bread or chalice, saying the *Agnus* before the communion, showing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof, ringing of the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board."

Besides which, there was the following very significant direction :—

"Item, whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table and some as an altar, whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore, wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered, in such place of the choir or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people, and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables."

Order to take down altars and set up tables.

This order to take down altars looks as if it marked a new stage in the revolution that was going on; but, in truth, the practice had already begun as early as 1548, when a Swiss student at Oxford, John ab Ulmis, wrote with great satisfaction to Bullinger that, "by common consent of the higher classes." the privileged altars were put down and turned into pens for pigsties (*aræ factæ sunt haræ*). These, however, were no doubt the private altars of abolished chantries, at which priests had been hired to sing for departed souls, and the upper

classes were very generally content to save the money for such singing. But now altars in general were assailed; and at the same time the abrogation of old holidays—a process which had begun the year before King Edward's birth—was carried further than it had been. This, too, was favoured from two different motives—by preachers like Ridley, as tending to abolish superstition, and by rich men, because it enabled them to demand from their labourers uninterrupted service. This, it is true, they sometimes obtained without any edict, as the Protector had done in the building of Somerset House, which was carried on without cessation both Sundays and holidays.

In 1549 Corpus Christi Day was kept holiday in some places and not in others; in this year, 1550, it was not kept holiday at all. Neither was St. Barnabas' Day, June 11, which, though a prayer-book festival, was forbidden by the lord mayor to be kept. St. Barnabas' Day at night was found a convenient time for executing an order of the new Bishop of London to pull down the high altar in St. Paul's Cathedral. On its removal a veil was hung over a place beneath the steps where the new communion-table was set; and there, a week later, the communion was administered in the form now enjoined. Disputes then went on about the two feasts of Our Lady, the Assumption (August 15) and the Nativity (September 8), which some kept as of old and some would not. Then a general pulling down of altars began, the Bishop of London's orders first being backed up by letters from the Council, which the Sheriff of Essex was sent down to enforce in July, and then further steps were taken, till ultimately letters were issued in the king's name to every bishop, dated November 24, ordering the removal of all remaining altars and their being replaced by tables.

Meanwhile, a stronger Calvinist than Ridley was raised to the episcopal dignity, one to whom its trappings were repulsive. John Hooper was the foremost of those sincere enthusiasts who, without a thought of breaking communion with the Church, wished to get rid of pomp, and reduce its ritual to the most extreme severity. He had already, in preaching before the king, inveighed against the new Ordinal, and it seemed strange to make a man a bishop who disapproved of the ritual by which he would have

John Hooper.

to be consecrated. But he had done useful service otherwise. His story, in brief, was this. He had been a monk till the dissolution; then became, as he himself confessed, too much of a courtier living in the king's palace. But, being taken by the views of Swiss reformers, he withdrew from court, and afterwards, to avoid prosecution under the Six Articles, fled to Strassburg, where he married, and then to Zurich, whence he had not returned to England a twelvemonth before he was offered the bishopric of Gloucester. Since his return the Duke of Somerset had made him his chaplain, and he had already, as we have seen, taken part in the deprivation of Bishop Bonner, whose sermon at Paul's Cross he not only denounced, but was set to answer three weeks later by another at the same place. In the Lent following he had taken Latimer's place in preaching before the king, and it seemed from his fervid words that he was to carry the religious revolution farther than ever.

His scruples on being offered the bishopric of Gloucester.

But when, on Easter Monday, April 7, the offer was made to him by the lord chancellor of the bishopric of Gloucester, he declined it, both on account of the form of the oath, which he considered impious, and on account of the vestments, which he called Aaronic. He objected also to the tonsure, which was still usual; but as this was not enjoined in the new Ordinal, the Council did not insist on it. To discuss his other scruples he was called before them on Ascension Day, May 15, and after facing a battery of interrogatories he obtained terms which he thought satisfactory. He agreed to accept the charge on the understanding that the oath would not be imposed upon him; and he consented, apparently, even to wear a white linen rochet when he went to Parliament, until that superfluity was abolished by lawful authority. But difficulties were not yet at an end. On July 3 the bishopric was conferred upon him by patent without *congé d'élire* under the new law. There was still, however, a legal question about the omission of the oath, and it was not settled without another conference, on the 20th, before the king himself in council, when Hooper so successfully maintained his own view of the unlawfulness of appealing by oath to God's creatures as well as to God Himself, that young Edward, with his own pen, struck out the objectionable invocation of the saints. On the 23rd, accordingly, the Earl of

Warwick, who was now chief of the Council, wrote to Cranmer "at the king's own motion," directing him not to press upon the new bishop an oath against his conscience. Cranmer, however, required something more for his assurance against the penalties of a *præmunire* if he should consecrate a bishop in an unlawful form, and on August 5 a letter was sent to him, signed by six of the Council, to warrant him against such consequences. This, however, did not satisfy Bishop Ridley, who was expected to join Cranmer in the function of consecration, and Hooper remained unconsecrated till March of the following year.

Nonconformity.

Hooper is called from this "the father of Nonconformity"; for the original nonconformists were a party within the Church itself, who had no thought of separation, but refused to comply with the statutory ritual. His scruples were founded on Scripture; he would have no ceremonies that were not authorised by the New Testament. And in this view he had many followers, of whom numbers in a later age rejected episcopacy altogether, and at last separating from the Church were known by the name of Dissenters. But at this time his scruples met with little or no sympathy from other divines. the only learned man in England who approved his attitude being the Polish nobleman, John à Lasco.

John à Lasco.

This person was a man of great learning, of high birth, and very distinguished family. His brother Jaroslaw had in past years thrown himself into the cause of Hungary, and negotiated at Constantinople the league of the Waywode with the Turks against the Austrians. By his brother's influence he himself is said to have been provided to the bishopric of Veszprim in Hungary; but his name does not appear among the bishops either of that See or of Cujavia in his own country of Poland, which he is said afterwards to have obtained. As a young man he was familiar both with Erasmus and with Zwingli; and he afterwards married at Mainz and settled at Embden as superintendent of the Reformed Churches of Friesland, whose principles, however, were strongly anti-Lutheran. From Embden he came to England at Cranmer's invitation in 1548, but only on a visit. He returned in the spring of this year, 1550, to settle,

and obtained letters of denization for himself and his family on June 27. His object was to establish in London a church of Germans and other foreigners, of which he was named superintendent in the foundation-charter granted to it on July 24. The church of the dissolved monastery of Austin Friars was given them to meet in; and there a similar body, now known as the Dutch Church, worships at this day.

He establishes in London a church of foreigners.

This foreign community, not unnaturally, took a very great interest in Bishop Hooper, with whom, indeed, their preacher Micronius lived before he was appointed to that office. For they desired to be independent of the Bishop of London's jurisdiction, and not to be bound to use the ritual made compulsory for Englishmen. Bishop Ridley, however, insisted on their acknowledging his authority; and as he had the Council with him against Hooper, the German Church felt its privileges to be in danger. Hence the cordiality with which à Lasco approved of Hooper's action in the matter of vestments.

About this time also, or shortly after, another company of foreigners was settled by the Duke of Somerset at Glastonbury under one Valérand Poullain as preacher and superintendent. They were mostly worsted-weavers from Strassburg, driven to England by the *Interim*. In February 1551 Poullain published in London a Latin translation of the liturgy they had used at Strassburg; and Somerset, who had recently acquired from the Crown the site of the suppressed abbey of Glastonbury, gave him and his companions a refuge there, where they might carry on their manufacture and maintain their own religion without interference of bishops. The colony, however, had but a brief and rather melancholy existence. The country-people looked upon them as intruders, and some months later, when their patron Somerset fell never to rise again, they were subjected to various troubles. Soon afterwards the accession of Mary, of course, put an end to the society.

Another foreign company at Glastonbury.

The destruction of altars was certainly a revolutionary proceeding, which sorely tried the consciences of most bishops. But episcopal authority was well-nigh destroyed already, and the complaints of the bench in the House of Lords had been,

as we have seen, entirely fruitless. There were constant frays in St. Paul's, "and nothing said unto them," as the *Grey Friars' Chronicle* remarks. Moreover, three bishops, Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath, were already in prison, and the same treatment was in store for others who should refuse to carry out the Council's policy. One such, at least, was Bishop Day of Chichester; and the Privy Council records bear witness that the king's almoner, Dr. Cox, was sent into Sussex on October 7, 1550, "to appease the people by his good doctrine, which was troubled by the seditious preaching of the Bishop of Chichester and others." On November 8 the bishop appeared before the Council to answer certain charges as to his preaching; and as he denied the words imputed to him, he was commanded to make his own statement two days later, which, it is to be presumed, he did. A royal letter was sent to him immediately afterwards commanding him not only to have all the altars in his diocese demolished and replaced by tables, but to preach in his cathedral and set forth reasons for so doing. Having declared to Somerset his resolution not to comply, he was called before the Council again to state his reasons, which he did on December 1. Of course they were declared unsatisfactory, but he still requested to be excused obedience unless arguments to satisfy his conscience could be produced. On this he was desired to confer with the archbishop and with Bishops Goodrich and Ridley, and to make further answer on the 10th. On the 7th he distinctly refused to comply; but the Council, still hoping to win him, gave him two days' further respite. Finally, on the 11th, he was committed to the Fleet.

Bishop Day of Chichester

is committed to the Fleet.

On the 15th Bishop Gardiner was brought from the Tower to Lambeth for a first sitting in what proved to be a long examination. It was now nearly two and a-half years since his last committal to the Tower, and during all that time he had petitioned in vain for a trial. After the lapse of one year all but a few days he had been visited by the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, and Secretary Petre, who brought him the prayer-book authorised by Parliament, requesting that he would look it over and give his opinion of it, and promising that on his conformity the

Bishop Gardiner's imprisonment.

Protector would be a suitor to the king to show him mercy. Gardiner replied that he hoped to be relieved by justice, not by mercy, as he had not offended, and, without disrespect for the book, he declined, as he said, to go to school in prison. A year later, in June of this year, 1550, he was visited again in the same way by Somerset and the Marquess of Northampton (Katharine Parr's brother), with Lord Treasurer Paulet (now Earl of Wiltshire), Russell, Earl of Bedford, and Secretary Petre, to see if he would alter his tone. He declined again to ask for anything more than justice, but professed himself an obedient subject. He also again, at first, declined to examine the prayer-book in prison, lest he should seem to yield a forced conformity; but afterwards he consented to do so, and said that, though he would not have drawn it up so himself, he saw nothing in the book against his conscience, and was willing to set it forth. The Council were not satisfied, and got the king to sign a letter to him on July 8, desiring him to subscribe a set of articles, which were brought him by a new deputation, headed this time by Warwick. He received the royal letter on his knees and kissed it, but regretted to find that he was expected to make a confession which was against his conscience. Warwick relieved his perplexity by telling him he might sign the articles if he agreed with them, and write a marginal note opposite the preamble, which alone contained the admission that he had done wrong. He accordingly wrote in the margin of the preamble that he could not conscientiously so accuse himself; and he would have added marginal annotations to some of the further articles, when he was stopped by the privy councillors, and told that as he had agreed to sign the articles he must do so without comment. He accordingly signed them, the councillors adding their signatures in attestation; on which he merrily remarked that they had made him put his signature above all of theirs.

His bishopric sequestered for three months.

The lords had been most friendly, and Gardiner really hoped he had given satisfaction; but he received two further visits from other councillors, to whom, while preserving all courtesy, he was obliged to remark that a trial, however uncomfortable, would at least have a definite conclusion. He was then brought,

on July 19, before the lords of the Council at Westminster, who said they had a special commission to proceed against him. A long list of new articles was produced, which he was required to sign. He said that they would need to be studied at leisure, and particular answers given to each; and he offered to consider them carefully even in prison. But as he still declared some of the things to be against his conscience, a decree was pronounced to sequester his bishopric for three months, during which time he might conform, or otherwise be treated as incorrigible. The three months, however, were allowed to run on to five before the commission which now sat in December had met for the final proceeding.

The powers of this commission were extraordinary. They sat in various places from the middle of December till the middle of February (1551) collecting an immense mass of testimony for what, after all, seems to have been simply a foregone conclusion. The depositions may be read in full, but they show no more evidence of disobedience to the king than what the reader can find in the facts already stated. On February 14, notwithstanding an appeal put in that morning by Gardiner against the commission itself and the partiality of the judges (among whom were the archbishop and others who had actually ordered him to prison), and the irregularity of their procedures, a definitive sentence was given for his deprivation. The grounds set forth for this decision were that he had, in spite of many admonitions, opposed "the godly reformations of abuses in religion set forth by the king's authority," and had disobeyed the king's commands. On this the bishop made a further appeal to the king by word of mouth; but, of course, such appeals were useless. He was taken back to the Tower, and on March 23 his bishopric of Winchester was given to John Ponet, or Poynet, translated from Rochester. A month later John Scory was made Bishop of Rochester in Ponet's place. How much the character of the episcopal bench was improved by these changes was seen in July following, when Gardiner's successor at Winchester was divorced at St. Paul's from the woman he had called his wife, and adjudged to pay

He is deprived

Ponet made Bishop of Winchester.

a pension to her real husband, a butcher of Nottingham. But Ponet, as Heylin observes, was preferred "to serve other men's turns," and made large alienations of the property of his See "before he was well warm" in it. Nevertheless, it was seen that the king's "godly reformations" did not encourage unlimited laxity of doctrine; for on January 18 a commission was issued to Archbishop Cranmer and others to try anabaptists. The result ere long was that a Fleming, named George van Paris, a surgeon, excommunicated by the foreign community at Austin Friars, was burned in Smithfield (April 24) for denying the divinity of Christ.

George van Paris burned.

But in the midst of their high-handed proceedings, the Council were made to feel once more that a religious revolution was not unattended with danger. In January they were informed that the English ambassador in Flanders was forbidden to use in his household the ritual authorised in England, and they warned the imperial ambassador to get the restriction taken off, otherwise his own liberty would be restrained. This, however, did not deter the imperial ambassador from urging the Council shortly afterwards to remember a promise made to the emperor that the Princess Mary should be allowed to have her own religious rites in the way they were used in her father's time until her brother should come to years of discretion. The reader will remember Mary's refusal to use the new prayer-book in 1549, and the insinuations made against her of encouraging the Devonshire rebels. At that time she was allowed to continue her mass, the king, her brother, giving a special dispensation to her and her chaplains. But after Somerset's fall Edward was persuaded to write her a letter saying that his previous forbearance was not meant to encourage her to disobey the laws, but rather that she should learn to obey them; and he warned her no longer to practise a forbidden religion by which God, he told her, was really dishonoured. The Council harassed her with letters and messages, and called away her priests and other servants whom she could ill spare. In April 1550 the emperor's ambassador requested that she might have letters-patent allowing her still to have mass; but the request was refused. In the summer a plot was

The Princess Mary and her mass.

actually formed with the connivance of the queen-regent of Flanders for carrying her away to Antwerp; but the project became known, and was, of course, hopeless. Towards the close of the same year two of her chaplains were prosecuted for saying mass in her house. In March 1551, the year that we have now reached, the Council summoned her to London, where she made her entry on the 15th, and proceeded two days later to Westminster amid shouts of welcome from the citizens.

She was received by her brother with formal salutations; then banqueted in the hall of the presence-chamber, and had an interview with the Council. They showed her how long her brother had suffered her mass in the hope of her reconciliation, but now from her letters it appeared that there was no hope, and he could not endure it. She replied that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change or do anything to discredit. She was told that her brother did not constrain her faith, but she must obey as a subject and not give a bad example to others. She was firm, however, rather to suffer death than to comply, and was dismissed with gentleness, to return next day to Newhall in Essex. That day the imperial ambassador came to court with a peremptory message from his master, denouncing war if they would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to have her mass. No immediate answer was returned; but next day the case was referred to three of the most progressive bishops—Cranmer, Ridley, and Ponet (then still bishop of Rochester)—who came to the decision that, though giving a licence to sin was sin, it might be tolerable, under pressure, to wink at it for a time. On the 23rd, accordingly, considering the very serious danger to English interests in Flanders, the Council determined to send Dr. Nicholas Wotton to the emperor "to deny the matter wholly and persuade the emperor in it"—such are the young king's own words in his journal—"thinking, by his going, to win some time for a preparation of a mart, conveyance of powder, harness, etc., and for the surety of the realm." And the emperor's ambassador, who came back on the 25th for an answer, was told that some one would go to his master within a month or two to explain the matter.

Her interview with the Council.

It was no doubt the fertile brain of Warwick that devised

this Fabian policy, and it proved quite successful. The emperor had a civil war in Germany on hand (brought on by his own *Interim*), which was enough for him without making war on England. The Council understood their advantage. On Palm Sunday, four days after Mary's appearance before them, Sir Anthony Browne and others were committed to the Fleet for hearing mass in Mary's court at St. John's Priory, where she had rested in her visit to London. A month later, Dr. Malet, one of her two chaplains previously imprisoned, was arrested again, and after examination sent to the Tower on April 29. Mary indignantly remonstrated that his saying mass, for which he was imprisoned, had been at her command, and that, relying on the promise made to the emperor, she had assured him none of her chaplains should be in danger of the law for saying mass in her house. The arrest, however, seems to have been on the pretext of an old offence of this kind committed in one of her houses when she was absent, and the Council alleged that he had been found guilty already. Moreover, by the Act of Parliament, as they pointed out, where such an offence was notorious it could be punished without the finding of any jury.[1] Such was the gentle law of Edward VI. !

Arrests for hearing and saying mass in Mary's household.

We shall hear more of Mary and her mass by and by. Meanwhile, let us pass from the court to the universities. At the end of the year 1550 the visitors of Oxford met again after prorogation in December, rifled the college libraries, and destroyed cartloads of valuable MSS., many of them "guilty of no other superstition," as the university historian writes, "than red letters in their fronts and titles." Works of controversial divinity—of schoolmen especially—were all turned out. Merton, New College, and Balliol were among the principal sufferers, and New College would have lost its painted windows likewise, which the visitors ordered to be removed, but the college preserved

Spoliation of college libraries at Oxford.

[1] The penal clause of the Act of Uniformity, 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 1, made any clergyman liable to punishment for not using the services in the prayer-book, or speaking against them, whenever he was "lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, *or by the notorious evidence of the fact.*"

them on the plea of poverty, promising obedience when they could afford new glass. In the general spoliation of MSS. many were sold to tradesmen, and many shipped abroad—whole shipfuls—for the use of bookbinders. The infamy of these proceedings rests chiefly with Dr. Cox, Dean of Christchurch and chancellor of the university, who was one of the leading visitors and also the young king's tutor. Men called him "cancellor" of the university instead of chancellor.

At Cambridge a different interest was created by the death of Bucer on the last day of February 1551. He was buried two days later in St. Mary's Church, and his funeral was attended by the whole university. Eloquent sermons were preached and learned tributes were laid upon his grave. He had, just eight weeks before, completed his elaborate *Censura* of the English Prayer-book, composed at the request of his diocesan, Goodrich, Bishop of Ely. Peter Martyr at Oxford had been engaged on a like work for Cranmer, who welcomed all suggestions for a revision of the book; but Peter found, after completing his task, that Bucer had done the work much more thoroughly, and he regretted that he had based his criticisms on an imperfect translation, though Bucer also appears to have required help to understand the English thoroughly. Never was greater deference paid to foreign opinion than now in a Church which had been emancipated from the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop. Calvin wrote from Geneva to Cranmer to be active, while it was time, to eradicate the last traces of superstition, and Cranmer urged him in return to ply King Edward himself with letters on the subject. Bullinger also wrote from Zurich to encourage Dr. Cox at Oxford (who, it may be imagined, scarcely needed encouragement) to use his influence in the university to put down popish ceremonies.

Death of Bucer at Cambridge.

Exhortations from abroad.

As to the Prayer-book, there is no doubt a revision had been contemplated for some time, and circumstances connected with the deprivation of Bishop Gardiner probably forced it on all the more rapidly. In 1550 Cranmer had put forth a vindication of his own changed view of the sacrament as "A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine," which Gardiner even in prison felt

Preparations to revise the Prayer-book.

it his duty to answer; and he found means also to get his answer published. It was entitled "An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar; with confutation of a book written against the same." Calm and dignified in style, it was nevertheless calculated to wound Cranmer deeply; for, affecting to doubt that such novel heresy could really have been written by the primate in whose name it was set forth, Gardiner declares that he purposely refrains from attributing it to so high an authority, and speaks only of "this author" in his argument. He points out, moreover, that it is in conflict with previously published views of Cranmer himself. The primate hereupon published "An Answer unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation devised by Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly doctrine of the most holy Sacrament." And at the end of this appeared an answer to another antagonist on the same subject—Dr. Richard Smith, now a refugee at Louvain. The primate was thus fully committed to a repudiation of transubstantiation, and it was clear that this doctrine was to be no longer upheld by the authorities.

Controversy between Cranmer and Gardiner.

On January 12, Hooper, the unconsecrated Bishop of Gloucester, was brought again before the Council to answer for a disobedience considerably worse than any imputed to Gardiner. There had been long discussions about his case, and he had finally been ordered to keep his house unless he desired to take counsel with the archbishop, or with Bishops Goodrich of Ely, Ridley of London, or Taylor of Lincoln, and neither to preach nor read till he had further orders. Not only had he not kept his house, but he had written and printed a book containing objectionable matter; for which the Council committed him to the custody of Cranmer, either to be reformed or to be further punished if obstinate. On the 27th the archbishop reported that he had been unable to bring him to any conformity, and the Council committed him to the Fleet, with orders to the warden "to keep him from conference with any persons, saving the ministers of that house." This was because, "persevering in his obstinacy," he "coveted to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his [own] head"—the very

Hooper still refractory for a while;

thing, of course, that a self-opinionated interpreter of an infallible book might be expected to do. But the discipline of confinement really made him more reasonable. After an appeal to the Council, which was not accepted, he wrote to Cranmer from prison on February 15, protesting that he yielded from no selfish motive, but for the sake of the Church, and that he now acknowledged the freedom of the children of God in matters merely external. He was willing, therefore, to defer to Cranmer's judgment while preserving his own opinion. This unlocked the door of his prison, and he was consecrated at Lambeth on March 8 by Cranmer, Ridley, and Ponet, three weeks after Gardiner had been deprived, and a fortnight before Ponet was translated to Winchester.

but he yields at last and is consecrated.

So now the chief places in the Church of England were pretty strongly held by men who could act together in lowering the standard of ritual and of sacramental doctrine. There were still bishops to be dealt with who would not favour the revolution, and they were dealt with very soon. Meanwhile, with Cranmer as primate, London was under the rule of Ridley, who on March 24 (Tuesday in Passion week) caused the iron gratings on the north and south sides of the choir at St. Paul's to be closed up with brick and mortar, to exclude the public even from looking in at the time of communion. Then on Easter Eve the table was removed and placed "beneath the steps in the midst of the upper choir," with the ends east and west. On Easter Day itself the dean (Dr. William May) performed the service, standing on the south side of the table, a veil being drawn round the communicants after the Creed was sung. After this, innovation not unnaturally was carried further. "When your table was constituted," said Bishop White to Ridley at his trial four years later, "you could never be content in placing the same, now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the Church." And no doubt Bishop White gave but too true expression to a very general feeling when he coarsely added, "A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive!"

Changes made by Ridley at St. Paul's.

England was visited this summer with two great evils—sweating sickness and dearness of provisions. To meet these inflictions a royal letter was addressed to the bishops on July 18, attributing the epidemic to the wrath of God at the prevailing sin of covetousness, against which they were urged to caution the people, with exhortations, at the same time, to resort more diligently to common prayer. Covetousness was, undoubtedly, the special sin of the times. The greed of the rich and the plunder of Church lands, many of which the new bishops were easily persuaded, and the old bishops forced, to alienate, had disturbed still further the economic conditions of the kingdom, which were bad enough at the beginning of the reign. But the measures taken by the Council only made matters worse. The debasement of the currency had certainly been pushed to an extreme; but after a previous proclamation, the results of which are confusing even to experts, the coins were suddenly cried down by two other proclamations in July and August, first to one-quarter and then to one-half the values at which they stood before. Prices, of course, rose still higher to meet the deteriorated values, and the misery inflicted on the poor was past description.

The sweating sickness and the coinage.

In August it was thought safe to push still further the coercion of the Princess Mary in matters of religion. Three of her household officers were summoned before the Council and charged with a message to her, backed by a letter from Edward himself, requiring her to discontinue her mass and accept the authorised ritual. Her officers strove to be excused, but the task was forced upon them. They took the order to her at Copped Hall and prayed her to be patient while they read it. Her colour came and went as she listened, and she bade them on pain of dismissal not to declare it to her chaplains and household. They had told the Council beforehand that this would be the result, but the Council charged them again not to leave, in spite of any dismissal, till they had discharged their commission. This instruction, however, they felt unable to carry out. They returned and were reprimanded, but absolutely refused to go again and do it; they said they would rather go to prison. Other agents were

Further coercion of the Princess Mary.

therefore employed. Lord Chancellor Rich, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Secretary Petre went to her with a similar message and a new letter from the king. She received the letter on her knees and kissed it, in honour, as she pointedly said, of his Majesty whose signature was attached to it, and not of the contents, which she was sure did not proceed from him. As she read it to herself she was heard to say, "Ah, good Mr. Cecil took much pains here." In reply, she told them that she was the king's subject "and poor sister," but would rather lay her head on a block than use any other service than what was used at her father's death, though she owned she was unworthy to suffer death in so good a quarrel. The envoys, however, delivered the message to her chaplains and household, and the chaplains, after consulting together, promised obedience.

Bishop Tunstall imprisoned.

Just at this time the aged Bishop Voysey was induced to resign his See of Exeter, and Coverdale was appointed in his room on August 14. There was also an attempt to fasten on the venerable Bishop Tunstall a charge of treason, for which as yet the apparatus does not seem to have been fully matured. On May 20 he had been committed prisoner to his own house on the hearing of certain matters between him and his dean and a person unnamed in the Privy Council register, who apparently was an accuser named Ninian Menville. The case, however, seems to have slept for months, and on August 2 the bishop had licence given him to walk about in the fields; but future trouble was still in store for him. On September 22, Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was fetched from the Fleet Prison and called before the Council, who told him that he was a very obstinate man, but might still recover favour by signing the new Ordinal. He replied by acknowledging the cause of his imprisonment, and that he had been very gently used; but he was of the same mind as before, and, though he would not disobey the book, he declined to subscribe it. This the Council told him was an inconsistent position, and they laboured hard to remove him out of it, but their efforts were unavailing. He declined also to confer about it with other learned men, stating in the course of the discourse that there were other things to which he would not agree if commanded, such as

the order to take down altars and set up tables. He was allowed two days to make up his mind on pain of deprivation; but he remained firm. On the 27th a commission was issued to three lawyers and three civilians to take proceedings against him and Bishop Day, his fellow-prisoner in the Fleet. On October 8 they were convented before the commissioners at the Bishop of London's house, and on the 10th they were deprived "for contempt."

Bishops Heath and Day deprived.

On the 16th of the same month—two years and two days exactly since his former arrest in 1549—Somerset was again arrested, just after dining with the king his nephew, and again sent to the Tower. It seems evident that a conspiracy for his ruin had been maturing for some time, and that, though he had long been uncomfortable about the ascendancy of his rival Warwick, he had only taken serious alarm a few days before. Already a great change had taken place on the 11th, when the master spirit, Warwick, was created Duke of Northumberland at Hampton Court. With him the Marquess of Dorset was promoted to be Duke of Suffolk; Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, to be Marquess of Winchester; and Sir William Herbert to be Earl of Pembroke; while William Cecil, who was now Secretary of State, and John Cheke, the king's tutor, were made knights. The only man among these from whom Somerset could expect much friendship was his old secretary, Cecil, to whom he wrote on the 14th when he suspected things were going wrong; but the coldness and formality of Cecil's answer showed him that even he now stood aloof and would not help him.

Somerset's second fall.

AUTHORITIES.—Mostly the same as in last chapter. Beccatelli's *Life of Pole* in Quirini's edition of his Letters; *Acts of the Privy Council* (Dasent), vols. ii. and iii.; Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*. Bucer's *Censura* will be found in his *Scripta Anglicana;* Glocester Ridley's *Life of Ridley;* Hooper's *Early and Later Writings* (with biography) and *Works of Ridley*, and Cranmer's *Writings on the Lord's Supper* (Parker Society). For what relates to Hooper and the Germans, and also Hooper's controversy with Ridley, see *Original Letters* (Parker Society), pp. 572-573. For the royal letter on covetousness, see Tytler, i. 404.

CHAPTER XV

LAST YEARS OF EDWARD VI.

We cannot expect to unravel the whole story of Warwick's intrigues. At the beginning of the reign he was accounted Somerset's close ally, yet it was he who procured his overthrow in 1549. Next year, however, he not only appeared again most friendly, but married his eldest son, Viscount Lisle, to Somerset's daughter Anne. Yet again, in spite of this alliance, he was now at work for his final destruction in 1551. On October 7, as he informed the king, Sir Thomas Palmer (a personal enemy of Somerset's) had come to him with a chain to be delivered to Jarnac, the new ambassador just arrived from France, and had told him of a conspiracy formed by Somerset in the previous April, in which it was designed to raise the people, and also to invite Warwick, Northampton, and others to a banquet and cut off their heads. This monstrous charge, however, is not sustained by the indictment, which turns it into an intention merely to imprison Warwick and seize the great seal and the Tower of London, with a view of securing the king's person and depriving him of his royal dignity.

Warwick's intrigues.

What ground there may have been even for this last accusation we need hardly trouble ourselves to inquire. Warwick had undoubtedly been studying his own game and watching his opportunity for years. He had profited once by the resentment felt by many at Somerset's religious policy; but Somerset's policy was moderate in comparison with his. For, to all appearance, Somerset would have had Gardiner out of prison and allowed the Princess Mary her mass; nay, it would

seem he had been considering about restoring the mass, holy water, and some other rites to the people to avoid disquiet, while Warwick with his two allies, the Marquess of Northampton and Lord Herbert, now Earl of Pembroke, had been insisting on putting down the mass in a way to create estrangement between the king and his own sister. But Warwick, as we have seen, had his own idea how to temporise and how to avoid retrogression. His eyes were fully open to what was doing abroad, and he saw safety for the new *régime* in the balance of contending interests on the Continent. To explain the situation there it will be necessary that we should go back a few years.

The Council of Trent, which had formally opened at the end of 1545, had been removed to Bologna in April 1547 in consequence of an epidemic. The emperor was much displeased, and insisted strongly on its being restored to Trent. He knew that a council in Italy—and especially in the States of the Church—would have less authority with his German subjects than one only upon the confines of Italy, and his great object, to put an end to dissension, would be further off than ever. So he took the problem for a time into his own hands, and in May 1548, at the diet of Augsburg, he promulgated the *Interim*, which Magdeburg and a number of other cities of the empire refused to accept. In September 1549 the Council at Bologna, which after all had not been able to do anything, was suspended just two months before the death of Paul III.; and his successor, Julius III., elected in February 1550, agreed to meet the emperor's wishes and restore it to Trent. Meanwhile, in Germany, Maurice Duke of Saxony was made elector in place of his cousin, John Frederic, and was commissioned to reduce Magdeburg, which had been placed under the ban of the empire. Maurice laid siege to it for a year and more; during which time, while he seemed to be the instrument of the emperor's policy, he had views of his own. The siege was still going on when he made a secret treaty with France on October 5, 1551, just eleven days before the date of Somerset's second arrest. That Warwick could have known of this is hardly to be presumed; but he had been knitting a firm alliance between England and France, and he no doubt

Religious affairs in Germany.

saw far enough into the future to reckon on the emperor's failure to coerce the whole German nation into acceptance of the *Interim* and the revived General Council. Charles had believed a great deal too much in force; he had John Frederic of Saxony and the Landgrave in his hands—the latter detained a prisoner by treachery; he had surrounded a diet with an imperial army to secure adhesion to the Council; he had taken very unjust advantage of the Protestants, and was now outwitted by Maurice, who next year surprised and put him to flight at Innsbruck.

Alliance with France, therefore, was a great protection for England against the emperor, as France was then playing its old game in Germany of assisting the Protestants to resist him. For Maurice, before his secret treaty with France, had allied himself in like manner with Denmark, Mecklenberg, Brandenburg-Anspach, and the Landgrave's sons; and it was, as we have seen, from a sure expectation that the emperor would have his hands full at home that Warwick was encouraged to disregard his threat of war and go on persecuting the Princess Mary. Warwick was the one bold, daring spirit to whom the rest of the Council now gave way.

On October 16, the day of Somerset's arrest at Westminster, Sir Thomas Palmer was likewise apprehended walking upon the terrace; and during that and the next few days there were other arrests, including Sir Ralph Vane, the Duchess of Suffolk, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Grey. Sir Thomas Palmer, on the 19th, made a "confession," as it was called, giving details of Somerset's alleged conspiracy. Parliament, which should have met again in October, was prorogued till January, and steps were taken to set up an autocracy. It was ordered that warrants should henceforth pass under the boy-king's sole signature without those of any of the Council; and other prisoners in the Tower were tortured or menaced with torture in order that they might accuse Somerset. In the Tower the fallen statesman remained awaiting his trial, when, towards the end of November, his rival, now Duke of Northumberland, wrote to Sir Philip Hoby and the lieutenant of the Tower complaining that he himself would confess nothing, and ordering them forcibly to strip him of the Garter and Collar of the

Persons arrested besides Somerset.

Order, with an intimation that he was to be tried on the following Tuesday, December 1.

Meanwhile, an important Church question came under consideration. Two years had nearly run their course since the passing of the last statute for the revision of the canon law, and still no royal commission was issued to give practical effect to the project. Cranmer had, no doubt, been drafting, even during the last reign, a scheme of his own for consideration when the measure should once take practical form. But the more the subject was considered by the Crown or its agents, the more difficulty there seemed to be about the issuing of the commission. At length, on November 11, a commission really was issued, but not one in accordance with the provisions of the statute. It was only a preparatory commission — to eight persons out of the thirty-two, who were in the meanwhile to make a beginning, and, after a survey of the old ecclesiastical laws, report a scheme of codification to the Crown. The full commission, which was to include twenty-four other names, was to be appointed afterwards, but meanwhile these eight were to do the essential work, to be criticised, and perhaps perfected, by the larger commission later on. These eight consisted of two prelates—Cranmer and Bishop Goodrich of Ely; two divines—Richard Cox and Peter Martyr; two doctors of law—William May and Roland Taylor of Hadleigh in Suffolk; and two common lawyers—John Lucas and Richard Goodrich. This was a very one-sided commission, as the reader may well imagine, remembering Dr. Cox's doings at Oxford, and that Dr. May was Dean of St. Paul's. Dr. Roland Taylor had been Cranmer's chaplain. However, they proceeded to elaborate among them the remarkable document called *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which was no doubt adopted by the statutory commission afterwards. For the whole thirty-two, it appears, were really appointed on October 6, 1552, before the expiration of the third year allowed by the statute; and when they set to work they divided themselves into four companies of eight, each composed, like the first, of two bishops, two divines, two civilians, and two other lawyers. The scheme, however, never became a working code of

Steps towards a revision of the canon law.

canon law after all; for it lay in manuscript till 1571, when it got the length of being printed, but was finally laid aside.

In November two matters of political importance deserve notice. First, the good feeling between England, France, and Scotland was marked by the public reception in London of Mary of Guise, Queen Dowager of Scotland, on her way back to that country from France after she had been entertained by young Edward at Hampton Court and Whitehall. Secondly, an ambassador came from Duke Maurice of Saxony to ask Edward to join the league now formed by the Protestant princes against the emperor; to which, however, the young king, under Northumberland's guidance, declined to commit himself till he knew the exact names and numbers of the confederates. On December 20 the aged Bishop Tunstall, who had been kept prisoner ever since his committal to his own house in May, was sent to the Tower on a charge of concealment of treason. His dean, whose name was Hugh Whitehead, was implicated along with him. Whitehead was bound over on November 3 in a recognisance of 200 marks for his appearance before the Council on the first day of next term, and is supposed to have died a few days later, for his deanery was given to Robert Horne on the 20th. The case against the bishop arose out of a charge made against him as far back as July 1550, when Ninian Menville accused him of having consented to a conspiracy for raising a rebellion in the north, but evidence had been wanting to support the charge, till a letter in his own hand was found in a cask of the Duke of Somerset's. The whole affair is certainly very obscure, but the bishop remained in captivity during the remainder of Edward's reign, as did also Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Day.

Bishop Tunstall sent to the Tower.

Somerset's trial took place on the day appointed. The charges against him were partly of treason, partly of felony. He denied every one of them, and in vain asked to be confronted with his accusers. After nine hours' pleading he was acquitted of treason, but condemned for felony. He received sentence, therefore, not to be beheaded as a traitor, but to be hanged. As he left the Court, acquitted of treason, the axe of the Tower,

Trial of Somerset.

which would otherwise have been carried with its edge towards the prisoner, was turned down; and the people in Westminster Hall, taking it for a complete acquittal, tossed their caps in the air with a great shout, which was taken up outside and heard at Longacre. Somerset was undoubtedly in high favour with the people; but that made him all the more dangerous to his rival.

At the end of the year the great seal was resigned by Lord Chancellor Rich, owing to illness. It was delivered just before Christmas to Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, as keeper during his illness; but with a view to the impending Parliament, the bishop was in January made chancellor in his place.

The execution of Somerset was arranged to take place when few expected it, just before the reassembling of Parliament. The ignoble death prescribed in the sentence was changed; and between eight and nine in the morning of January 22 he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Shortly afterwards, on different days, Sir Ralph Vane and three others implicated in his proceedings were condemned for felony, and suffered together at Tower Hill on February 26, two by hanging and two by decapitation—all four, however, maintaining to their deaths that they had committed no offence against the king or any of his Council. During the rest of Edward's brief reign, Northumberland, of course, was supreme.

Execution of Somerset.

Parliament met again on January 23, 1552, the day after Somerset's execution. It was still Edward's first Parliament, and it met now, after a longer prorogation than hitherto, for a fourth and last session. That very day a bill was laid before the Lords for compelling people to attend church services. After three readings it went to the Commons, and was there read a first time, but advanced no farther. On March 9, however, a new Bill of Uniformity was introduced in the Lords, and on the 30th another bill "for the due coming to common prayer and other services of God in churches." This last would seem to have been intended to replace the bill introduced on the first day of the session. It was combined with the Bill of Uniformity, and passed both Houses in April—not without protests in the Lords from three lay peers and two bishops

The second Act of Uniformity.

(Thirlby of Norwich and Aldridge of Carlisle). It accordingly became law, and is known as the Second Act of Uniformity. But this amalgamation of two bills had a rather curious effect. The preamble of the Act, which apparently belonged to the first bill—"for the due coming to common prayer"—declares that although a very godly order had been set forth by Parliament for common prayer and for the administration of the sacraments in English "agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church," yet "a great number of people in divers parts of the realm do wilfully and damnably refuse to come to their parish churches." As a cure for this evil it is enacted that such defaulters shall be liable to Church censures, and the bishops and other ordinaries are exhorted to enforce such censures. Episcopal authority, so sadly impaired and discredited of late years, was now, it was felt, the only power which could compel respect for the new services. But, strange to say, it was not the order hitherto set forth as agreeable to the Word of God which was to be maintained after all; for, as the Act further showed, that prayer-book had been subjected to some revision, and a revised edition of it was annexed to the Act and was ordered to be generally used from the Feast of All Saints (November 1) next.

The reason given in the Act for the emendations thus authorised is, that doubts had arisen in the use of the book "rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any worthy cause." And there can be little doubt who the so-called "mistakers" were. They were the men who accepted the book in the way it was intended at the time to be accepted, as a compromise. As already remarked, there was nothing in it really offensive to old doctrines. It is true, the Latin mass which was still enjoined for the use of the priest in the Order of Communion in 1548 was abolished in the Prayer-book of 1549; but the service was entitled "the Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass"; and even Gardiner, as we have seen, was willing to accept the book himself and promote its reception. But Cranmer had been labouring for a year or more on such a revision as would meet the criticisms of German and Swiss

The second Prayer-book.

reformers, and satisfy his own altered view of the sacrament. In a letter which Peter Martyr wrote to Bucer from Lambeth on January 10, 1551, he says that the archbishop had recently held a meeting with the bishops, who, he was thankful to say, had accepted an admonition from himself and friends, and it was decided that several changes should be made. What those changes were to be Martyr did not then know or dare to ask; but he was much comforted by what he heard from Sir John Cheke, the young king's tutor. "If the bishops," Sir John told him, "will not change the things that ought to be changed, the king will do it himself, and when the matter comes before Parliament he will interpose his own royal authority." And so, in fact, it was done. In the prayer of consecration stood the words—"to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ"; and on these words Gardiner had founded an argument in his book against Cranmer, to show that transubstantiation was still set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. Cranmer replied with a receptionist interpretation, showing that the words "may be *unto us*" were not a prayer that the elements might be changed in substance. The object now, however, was to get rid of ambiguities which allowed any foothold for the old doctrine; and so the passage was altered to the form with which we are all familiar, in which the memorial character of the rite is fully indicated, with the prayer that we "may be partakers" of His blessed body and blood.

We cannot dwell minutely upon the further legislation of this session, even where it bears on Church matters. A bill of treasons which passed the Lords was rejected by the Commons, who drew another in its place, and this was passed into law. It was a severe Act against calling the king heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or usurper; but it contained a proviso, manifestly suggested by the case of Somerset, that none should be attainted of treason unless two witnesses would aver the facts to his face. A bill about holidays and fasting-days became law, with a curious preamble setting forth abstract reasons for making days holy, that people might not judge them superstitious;

Further legislation.

also an Act for poor relief, and an Act touching the marriages of the clergy, to relieve such marriages from the discredit that still attached to them as mere licensed evils, and to declare the children legitimate. There was also an Act reuniting the See of Westminster to London, but preserving the exempt jurisdiction of the Abbey Church. An Act against fighting in churches and churchyards revealed the bitterness of the times, and the results of spiritual jurisdiction being in abeyance. The evil, however, was to be dealt with, first by spiritual methods; and if these failed, by loss of an ear or branding the cheek with red-hot iron. A bill against simony also passed, but did not receive the royal assent.

Further, an Act was passed prolonging for three years the existence of the commission on ecclesiastical laws; but events made this fruitless.

Parliament was dissolved on Good Friday, April 15. The king was ill of measles and small-pox, and this Parliament had opposed some designs of Northumberland, partly with reference to the estates of the late Duke of Somerset, and partly for a partition of the See of Durham with a view to make himself count palatine; so he was glad to end it.

On April 21, as Edward records in his journal, it was agreed to send out commissions to seize all superfluous Church plate for his use, and to inquire how any had been "embezzled" or conveyed away. Some of the commissions issued in pursuance of this resolution are preserved, with the certificates returned by the commissioners. Two of these commissions are undated, one is dated May 6 following, and a still later one January 16 in the following year. But even those which were ordered in April 1552 were not the first of their kind; for reference is made in the documents themselves to previous orders to take inventories of Church goods, and there is an actual order of the Privy Council on the subject dated March 3, 1551. The churches were stripped of all plate except what was necessary for divine service, and all rich copes, vestments, and altar-cloths; and inquiry was pushed as far as possible to discover who had been beforehand with the Crown in the plunder of church ornaments.

Commissions to seize Church plate.

On the 22nd Lord Paget, who had been imprisoned in the

Tower since November as a friend of Somerset, had his Garter and George taken from him by Garter King of Arms "for divers offences," as the young king wrote, "and chiefly because he was no gentleman of blood, neither of father's side nor mother's side." A change was also made in the constitution of the Order with new statutes on the 24th, but was only ratified apparently on March 17 following. Among other things, the Order was henceforth to be called of the Garter, not of St. George, "lest the honour due to God the Creator might seem to be given to any creature," and the masses hitherto said for deceased companions of course could not be sanctioned any longer.

Hooper made Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester.

On the 26th Hooper surrendered his bishopric of Gloucester, and a month later, May 20, he was appointed Bishop of Worcester, with his former See annexed to it. In July he began a visitation of his new diocese, but was compelled soon to return to Gloucester, finding that the clergy had relapsed into a number of superstitious usages which he had prohibited. The clergy, in truth, must have been somewhat perplexed with a set of injunctions so entirely opposed to previous orders that among other things they were commanded "that none of you maintain the Six Articles." So it was now insubordination to uphold doctrines which twelve years previously it had been in the highest degree penal to oppose.

The Princess Mary.

On June 13 following, the Princess Mary rode through London to Tower Wharf, and took her barge to visit her brother the king at Greenwich. The perverse and intolerant policy of the Council had not succeeded in creating a rupture between them. Her household servants had been released and sent back to her on April 14, just before Easter, and the Council were probably conscious by this time of the danger of continually outraging the feelings of one who stood next in succession to the throne. Her mass, indeed, was still prohibited, but she contrived to have it said in secret, and the authorities perhaps did not care to inquire too closely about it. Mary paid but one more visit to London and to her brother before he died; but on her part, at all events, there was no lack of kindly feeling. In September Bishop Ridley paid her a visit at Hunsdon,

which passed off very pleasantly till he offered to preach before her. This, however, she declined, telling him that the adjoining parish church would be open to him when he came, but neither she nor any of her folks should be among his hearers. On leaving, the bishop blamed himself for having drunk wine in her house, instead of shaking the dust off his shoes as a testimony against it.

On October 3 Bishop Tunstall was called before a lay commission, of which Sir Roger Cholmley, the chief justice, was the head, at what was formerly the Abbey of Tower Hill. After further examinations on the 8th and 13th, he was deprived and committed again to prison. How a chief justice could have accepted a commission for such a very irregular proceeding is not easily explained, except by the generally unconstitutional character that government had now assumed. Four bishops had already been deprived unjustly, and now a fifth was added. It was next proposed to dissolve the bishopric of Durham and divide it into two separate bishoprics of Durham and Newcastle, the former of which it was intended to give to Ridley.

Bishop Tunstall deprived.

On November 1 the new Prayer-book came into use by the express provisions of the Act. Yet as late as September 27, Grafton the printer was ordered to stay the issue of the book till certain faults had been corrected, and Cranmer was written to as to the advisability of leaving out a new rubric, by which it was for the first time enjoined that communicants should kneel in receiving. Custom had hitherto ruled the matter without a rubric, but Hooper had long objected to the custom; and a new preacher who had just come from the north, a Scot by birth, lately made chaplain to Northumberland, had denounced the practice of kneeling in a sermon delivered before the king, which had given rise to vehement disputes among the bishops. This preacher was John Knox, whose history, since we last met with him, had been full of change. On the surrender of St. Andrews he had been committed to the French galleys, from which he was released, apparently at the demand of Somerset, early in 1549. He came to England, and was employed by the Council as a preacher for nearly two years at Berwick, and for a similar period at Newcastle. He had

John Knox and the new Prayer-book.

argued before the Council of the North and Bishop Tunstall that the mass was idolatry, and had administered the sacrament to sitting congregations. But it was found expedient to withdraw him from the north, and he was now in London, where this sermon of his delighted the foreign congregations and produced the results just mentioned. Cranmer replied to the Council in a very judicious letter, expressing his willingness, at their request, to consult with Peter Martyr and others, but deprecating the discussion of a matter which had been fully weighed already. Knox, however, was at this time favoured by Northumberland, who proposed to make him Bishop of Rochester; and on October 27 an order was issued by the Council that the declaration on kneeling (which we have now, though in a shortened and materially modified form) should be inserted in the prayer-books already printed. The declaration, commonly called "the black rubric," was accordingly inserted in the bound volumes on a separate slip of paper, without authority either of Parliament or Convocation, to satisfy the over-scrupulous. And even Knox now counselled his congregation at Berwick to obey it and to kneel.

This business was closely connected with another very important subject. As far back as 1549 Cranmer had drawn up a set of articles of religion which he required every preacher to sign before granting him a licence to preach. He seems to have laid these articles, two years later, before a meeting of bishops; for on May 2, 1552, he was required by the Council to send them "the articles that he delivered the last year to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority or no." On September 19 following he wrote to Cecil that he had revised them and sent them to Sir John Cheke, with whom he desired Cecil to examine them and consider about pressing them on the king's attention. A month later (October 21) the Council ordered them to be examined by six persons, of whom Knox was one (all of them, probably, royal chaplains); and as the 38th article declared the ritual of the new Prayer-book to be agreeable to the liberty of the Gospel, their reply (drawn up undoubtedly by Knox) took exception to the posture of kneeling, and was the more immediate cause of the declaration. Their criticisms,

Articles of religion.

however, seem to have extended further, and on November 20 the Council sent back the articles to Cranmer with amendments for his consideration. He returned the draft revised on the 24th, with a statement of his own opinions, and an earnest prayer that the articles might now be authorised for subscription by the clergy.

So it is clear that before these articles received King Edward's signature, which, it appears, was only on June 12, 1553, they had undergone a very large amount of criticism and discussion, in the course of which their number was reduced from forty-five to forty-two. At a later period these forty-two were again reduced to our familiar thirty-nine. As to the leading changes in the new Prayer-book a few words may suffice. The old vestments were forbidden, and at communion a bishop was to wear a rochet, and a priest or deacon a surplice only. The alterations in matins and evensong were not very vital. Each began in 1549 with the Lord's Prayer; to which, in 1552, were prefixed for the first time the sentences of Scripture now used (though from a different translation), the exhortation, general confession, and absolution. In the communion service the table was ordered to be placed in the body of the church, or in the chancel, and the priest, instead of "standing humbly afore the midst of the altar," was to stand "at the north side of the table" to begin the service. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, which stood at the beginning of the office in the first book, was relegated to the end. The Ten Commandments were introduced for the first time, and some rubrics were suppressed—among others one enjoining the minister to add a little water to the wine. The canon was divided into three parts, forming, by redistribution, the prayer for the Church militant, the consecration prayer, and the first of the two alternative prayers after reception. The effect was to make communion follow at once on consecration. There was also suppressed a thanksgiving for the grace and virtue declared in the Virgin Mary, and for the example of "patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs," along with a beautiful commendation to God's mercy of souls departed "with the sign of faith." The change in the words of consecration has already been mentioned. The manual acts were omitted, and the formula of administration was altered.

The two Prayer-books.

It consisted in each book of only part of the words used at present; in the first book it was the first clause only, in the second it was the second clause only. The general aim of the alterations was undoubtedly to lower the old sacramental view.

A further object was no doubt in Cranmer's mind—the formation of a new Catholicism by establishing such broad and general formularies as might be accepted by all European Christians not bound to the papacy. His own mind had for some time given up transubstantiation as an impossible doctrine, and his travelled survey of foreign communities convinced him that a less exclusive standard of belief was necessary than that which was insisted upon by old scholastic divines. He strongly upheld the scriptural basis of religion, and he desired by correspondence with the most acute theologians abroad, as well as by conference with those at home, to set up a ritual free from reasonable objection. Unfortunately the authority on which he relied was not altogether safe. Royal supremacy had been fairly established in England, and was accepted even by men like Bishop Gardiner. But innovations which Henry VIII. had not dared to make could scarcely be cordially accepted under the sway of a minor, who, however acute in mind, had none of the wary thoughtfulness of his father, and might even have been led to disown them when he came of age.

Now, however, the suspicion must have been growing daily that the seeds of death were in the young lad already, and they who had been training him up as the head of a new religion must have trembled at the prospect of the speedy succession of his sister Mary.

In 1553 Northumberland had to summon a new Parliament to carry on the government; for the debts of the Crown had not been met by the money received from France for Boulogne, the sale of lands, and the plunder of church ornaments. The Parliament, of course, was to be packed, as usual; but the writs were issued for this election with barefaced intimations in some cases that the sheriffs were to elect persons recommended to them by the Privy Council. The session was to be opened by the king in person on March 1, but he was too unwell to face the outer air in a ride to Westminster, and the lords, knights,

A new Parliament.

and burgesses assembled before him at Whitehall. The Bishop of Ely as lord chancellor declared the causes of its assembly. Northumberland demanded and obtained a large subsidy, rendered necessary, as he said, by the "unskilful government" of Somerset. The bill for dividing the bishopric of Durham was brought in and passed. The other measures were not very important. Parliament was dissolved, as last year, on Good Friday, which was this time the last day of the month.

Convocation had met at St. Paul's on the 2nd, the day after the meeting of Parliament, when it was addressed by Scory, Bishop of Rochester, in a Latin sermon. The registers, which are now destroyed, are said to have been almost blank. The Forty-two Articles published in June following bear upon their title-page the statement that they were agreed upon in this Convocation; but it has been fully proved that this is an official fiction. Cranmer himself, in Mary's reign, said the title had been prefixed without his knowledge, and that when he complained of it to the Council he had been told that it meant only that they were set forth *in the time of* Convocation. Yet even this was untrue; for the utmost that could be said was that the printing of Ponet's Catechism, along with which these Articles appeared in some editions, was authorised by letters-patent of March 25, which would be during the sitting of Convocation.

The Forty-two Articles.

Although the king was now visibly growing weaker, Northumberland caused reports to be spread of his recovery, which were eagerly believed and made the occasion of thanksgiving in churches. The duke, however, was preparing for the inevitable event, and his mode of preparation was audacious beyond all precedent. He was a desperate man, with little claim to mercy from the sovereign who was to succeed, and his project was to get the young dying king to alter the succession. First, however, he arranged three marriages, which took place simultaneously on Whitsunday, May 21, at Durham House, late the town-house of Bishop Tunstall, which he had appropriated. It should be observed that by the will of Henry VIII. the issue of his sister Mary by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, had a contingent interest in the succession to the crown in the

Designs of Northumberland.

event of Edward and his two sisters dying without issue. Henry, who had stigmatised both these ladies, his own daughters, as bastards, had nevertheless arranged that they should both succeed in the natural order of birth, and the elder, Mary, was not looked upon as illegitimate by the people generally. Northumberland, however, proposed to exclude both her and her sister from the succession and convey it at once to the line of Suffolk. Charles Brandon had left two sons by Mary, promising young men; but they were both carried off in one day by the sweating sickness, and the dukedom of Suffolk had been conferred, in October 1551, on Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, who had married Charles Brandon's daughter Frances. This new Duke of Suffolk had by her an accomplished daughter, Lady Jane Grey, who would inherit all the possibilities of a royal succession, and Northumberland arranged with her father that she should marry his fourth son, Guildford Dudley.

That was the first match and the most important. After the manner of the age it was settled between the parents without much consideration for the inclination of the parties themselves, who were expected simply to obey. The second was of Lady Jane's sister Katharine to the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke. The third was that of the duke's own daughter, Katharine, to Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon. Three weeks later, on June 11, Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, received an order to repair to court next day and bring with him Sir John Baker, Mr. Justice Bromley, the attorney-general, and the solicitor-general. They came, and the king himself, surrounded by his Council, unfolded the design to which Northumberland had won him over. He told Montague that he had been led by his serious illness to consider deeply the state of the kingdom, and that he was determined that the crown should not go to his sister Mary, who might marry a foreigner and change the law and religion. He therefore desired him to draw up a deed for altering the succession in accordance with some written articles he showed him. By these it was to go to the heirs-male of Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, if she had any before Edward's death; or, failing them, to Lady Jane Grey and her heirs-male; or, failing them, to her newly married

sister and her heirs-male, with provision for yet further contingencies. The chief justice and other lawyers were staggered, and said that the proposal was illegal; but on being further pressed, they begged time for consideration. They were sent for again next day and told the matter was urgent, but they informed the Council that they adhered to their opinion; to attempt to convey the crown in such a fashion would be treason in all concerned. Northumberland presently burst into the room, and, trembling with anger, called the chief justice traitor, swearing that he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel.

Next day the judges were again summoned, and the king himself demanded sharply why they had not drawn the deed, commanding them on their allegiance to do it at once and he would have it ratified by a new Parliament. On this, Montague, unable to withstand the threats of the Council, asked for a commission under the great seal for his justification and a pardon at the same time. This was agreed to, and the document was drawn up in accordance with articles signed by the king "above, beneath, and on every side." Northumberland now required the signatures of the judges and of the Council, all of which he obtained except that of Sir James Hales. Then Cranmer's signature was required, but he pleaded that he was sworn to the will of Henry VIII., which this would set aside. On being brought, however, to the young king himself, and shown how the judges and Council had already concurred, he too acquiesced and set his signature in its due place above the others. The thing was accomplished, and archbishop, council, and lawyers had committed themselves to a scheme to cut off Mary from the succession.

Just after this, on July 2, Dr. Hodgkin, Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, preached at St. Paul's, and it was noted that he prayed for neither of the king's sisters. On the following Sunday, the 9th, Bishop Ridley himself preached, and pained his hearers by declaring both these ladies bastards. But by this time King Edward was dead, for he died at Greenwich on the 6th; and though his death was concealed for two days, the fact had been intimated to the lord mayor and some leading citizens, who were sent

Death of Edward VI., July 6, 1553.

for to court on the afternoon of Saturday the 8th, and informed both of the event and of the arrangements for the succession, which they were sworn to keep secret. On Monday the 10th, at three in the afternoon, Lady Jane Grey was conveyed down the river to the Tower, where she was to hold her court, and two hours later was proclaimed queen in the city.

His hospitals and schools.

Edward VI. has left a name in connection with charities and education which critical scholars find to be little justified by facts. It is true that at the close of his reign he not only founded Christ's Hospital for poor children and St. Thomas's for the indigent sick, but gave up his own palace of Bridewell to the city of London as a house of correction for vagrants. But Christ's Hospital was merely his father's gift to the city of the Grey Friars at Newgate, converted now to a special purpose, and endowed by an appeal to private benevolence. It was filled with poor children for the first time in November 1552. Bridewell, which was likewise given to the Mayor and Corporation of London, was at first poorly furnished out of the resources of the hospital of the Savoy, a charity founded by Henry VII., which, though it relieved 8000 people in the year, had exceeded its income, and was surrendered to the king on June 10, 1553, just a month before his death. For Bridewell also a public subscription had to be raised a few years later to make it really useful. St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark was an old foundation, of which the celebrated Sir Richard Whittington had been one benefactor. It had fallen, like other hospitals, to Henry VIII., and was likewise granted by his son to the citizens of London, though not without their paying for it. The grant was made in the fourth year of Edward's reign, and the buildings were repaired and received patients in his sixth year, not a twelvemonth before his death.

Similarly the schools to which Edward VI. gave his name were not one of them originally of his foundation. They were mostly very old schools refounded with poorer endowments. Educational resources had already been seriously impaired under Henry VIII., and the schools which bear the name of Edward VI. owe nothing to him or his government

but a more economic establishment. A good many of them had been chantry or guild schools; for if the chantry priest of old wasted his time in singing for souls, he not unfrequently did good work as a schoolmaster. Such work, indeed, the Chantries Act did not profess to interfere with. On the contrary, it was suggested, as we have seen, in the preamble, that the endowments of chantries should be applied to grammar-schools; but amid the more pressing interests of the day, the heavy taxation of the people, and the greed and covetousness of great men, educational institutions undoubtedly fared badly.

AUTHORITIES.—Sleidan's *Commentaries;* the Chronicles and the Calendars of State Papers referred to in chap. xiii.; Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council*, vols. iii. and iv.; Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary;* Cardwell's publications, *Documentary Annals*, *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, *Synodalia*, and *The Two Books of Common Prayer Compared;* the Statutes; Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II. ii. 50, 64, 112; Strype's *Cranmer*, App. nos. 61, 68; Cranmer's *Works*, "On the Lord's Supper" (Parker Soc.); Report VII. of Dep. Keeper of the Records, 22, App. ii. no. 10; Hooper's Life, prefixed to his later writings (Parker Soc.); *Journal of Edward VI.* (in Burnet or, better, in Nichols's *Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, published by Roxburghe Club); Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England; Original Letters from Zurich Archives*, 71 (Parker Soc.). With regard to the publication of the Forty-two Articles and the evidence that they were not laid before Convocation, the reader may be refered to the lucid footnotes of Dixon in vol. iii. pp. 513-517. Fuller's *Church History* (ed. Brewer), iv. 137-146, contains Sir Edward Montague's account of the way he was drawn into the plot in favour of Lady Jane Grey. Concerning Edward's foundation of hospitals see Grafton's *Chronicle*, ii. 529-531 (ed. 1809), Stowe's *Survey of London*, and Maitland's *History of London*. As to his founding of schools see Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation*. In the Appendix to *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Queen Mary* (Camden Soc.) Nichols has printed the documents touching Edward's device for altering the succession. On the state of religion and morals under Edward VI. see Pocock in the *English Historical Review* for July 1895, and articles therein referred to in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1892 and 1893.

CHAPTER XVI

LADY JANE, QUEEN MARY, AND WYATT

Of course Northumberland had been busy during those two, or rather three, days during which King Edward's death had been kept secret. Experienced soldier as he was, it was on military tactics alone that he depended to give effect to his desperate conspiracy; and having already implicated in his designs the Council and the judges, his next step was to secure the Tower, which he at once placed under a new custodian and filled with ordnance. Mary, the true heir, was then living at Hunsdon. She was summoned to court in her brother Edward's name, and the duke hoped to get possession both of her person and that of her sister Elizabeth before either knew of his death. But Mary was warned of the trap—by some accounts, even before her brother died—and rode off at full speed to Kenninghall in Norfolk, where the Earl of Bath and some other important persons speedily joined her. On the 12th the Council in the Tower received intelligence of this, and appointed that Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, should go with other noblemen to bring Mary up to London. Jane, however, besought with tears that her father might remain with her, and Northumberland was persuaded to undertake the dangerous mission himself. Having obtained a formal commission, he left London on the 14th, not without misgivings as to his confederates in the Council, and, passing through Shoreditch, remarked to his old companion-in-arms, Lord Grey, "The people press to see us, but not one saith God bless us." As he proceeded, it became more and more evident that his

Mary's flight to Norfolk.

expedition was hopeless. Mary was gathering forces far greater than his. Six vessels had been despatched to lie off Yarmouth to prevent her leaving the country. They were driven by stress of weather into the harbour, and the crews, hearing that Jerningham was raising forces for Mary, offered to throw their captains into the sea if they would not serve her as queen. On this the captains put the ships and ordnance at her disposal. It was the same elsewhere; noblemen's tenants would not serve their lords against Mary. Sir John Williams proclaimed her in Oxfordshire, Sir Thomas Tresham at Northampton. Sir Edward Hastings held Buckinghamshire at her command.

The duke, who had advanced as far as Bury, fell back upon Cambridge, where he was ere long taken prisoner. The councillors in the Tower prepared for a change. On the 19th Queen Mary was proclaimed in London, with much ringing of bells, lighting of bonfires, and throwing up of caps. The nine days' wonder was over. On August 3 the true queen entered the capital in great state, her sister Elizabeth following in the procession. That day certain State prisoners met the queen at the Tower gate—the Duke of Norfolk, who had been in durance nearly seven years; young Edward Courtenay, who had been nearly fifteen; Bishop Gardiner, and the widowed Duchess of Somerset. They kneeled before the queen, and she kissed them and said, "These are my prisoners." About the same time Bishop Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea, and Dr. Cox was put there in his place. The State prisoners in the Tower were discharged next day. Meanwhile a good company of very real traitors had already been sent thither. Condign punishment, indeed, soon followed the chief of these criminals. But even before the question of justice to rebels, a question of religion required consideration in connection with the funeral of the late king. He had lived, of course, a heretic in the eyes of Mary's Church, but Mary had a mass sung for his soul by Gardiner in the Tower. His body, however, was borne by Cranmer from Whitehall to Westminster on August 7 "without any cross or light," as the Grey Friars' chronicler remarks, "and buried next day with a communion, and that poorly; and the Bishop of

Mary proclaimed queen.

Chichester preached a good sermon." The Bishop of Chichester was George Day, just liberated from his unjust confinement; but his function was limited to preaching. The public rites could only be celebrated according to the English Prayer-book.

A week later, on Sunday August 13, there was a disturbance at Paul's Cross, on occasion of a sermon preached by Dr. Gilbert Bourne, once Bonner's chaplain, now the queen's. It was just four years since Bonner had preached in the same place and from the same text (the day in both cases being the eleventh Sunday after Trinity) that sermon for which he had suffered unjust imprisonment; and the preacher alluded to the fact. He was met with cries of "Thou liest"; one in the crowd threw a dagger at him, and others hustled him from the pulpit, and threatened his life. He was, however, safely got through the church into the schoolhouse, while one of the prebendaries named Bradford, a man of opposite views, who had drawn him back, spoke to the people and tried to pacify them. On this the lord mayor and aldermen were at once summoned to confer with the Council in the Tower, and were ordered to call a common council on the morrow, in which they should charge every householder to keep his children and 'prentices in order, informing them how the queen, the very day before the riot, had declared with her own mouth her intention not to constrain men's consciences, but to trust to the persuasions of learned preachers to bring men to her own way of thinking.

Dr. Bourne's sermon.

That this was Mary's sincere intention at the outset of her reign there is no reason to doubt. Intolerance did not begin with her. She expressed her feeling on the subject again in a proclamation issued on the 18th, in which she urged her subjects to live together "in quiet sort and Christian charity," avoiding the "new found devilish terms of papist and heretic." Being now settled on the throne, she declared that she could not hide that religion which she had professed from infancy, and wished others to observe it also; but she would use no compulsion till further orders were taken by common consent, and she warned any would-be disturbers of the peace that they would be severely dealt with. In consequence, moreover, of the means much used to

Mary's toleration.

propagate sedition, she forbade unlicensed preaching or printing, or playing of interludes.

On the same day Northumberland and his son John, Earl of Warwick, with William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, were brought to their trial at Westminster before the Duke of Norfolk. Northumberland in vain pleaded his commission from the usurper whom he had set up. Finding this plea useless, he pleaded guilty, and was condemned. It was arranged that he, with some others, should have suffered on the 21st, but the execution was respited till next day. On the 21st, however, he attended a mass in the Tower, along with the Marquess of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, and others, after which he asked forgiveness of the marquess and each of the company, who then asked mutual forgiveness of each other on their knees, and all came before the altar professing that they would die in the Catholic faith. The duke, in particular, confessed that he had been seduced by false preachers for sixteen years past, and desired all present to bear witness that he believed the sacrament to be his Saviour. He made a similar confession next day on the scaffold, and called his confessor, Bishop Heath, who was present, to testify to his conversion. Two others suffered along with him, Sir John Gates, late captain of the guard, and Sir Thomas Palmer, both of whom had likewise joined in the mass of the day before.

Trial of Northumberland and others.

But, on the whole, Mary was liberal of pardons. She desired to proceed gently, as, indeed, she was advised by the emperor; for it was a serious task to restore religion to its old footing—even more difficult, in fact, than she was at first aware. Some Acts of the late reign, however, were speedily undone, as not only unjust but unconstitutional. The appeals to the Crown which Bishops Bonner and Tunstall had hitherto made in vain against their sentences of deprivation were heard at length, and, on inquiry, they were restored to their Sees. No commission, perhaps, was required to restore Gardiner, Heath, and Day, who were recognised again as the rightful Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Chichester. Voysey was restored to Exeter by patent on September 28, on the ground that he had been compelled to resign "by just fear both of body and soul." Meanwhile Ridley was sent to the

Bishops restored.

Tower; Ponet, perhaps conveniently, disappeared for two or three months; but Coverdale and Hooper were called before the Council and committed to prison, till it was seen what should be done with them.

On the 23rd Bishop Gardiner was made lord chancellor. Next day (St. Bartholomew's Day) the Latin service and the mass were sung in "the Shrouds" at St. Paul's and some of the London parish churches, not by order, but simply in response to the feelings of parishioners. On Sunday the 27th the old Latin service was used in the cathedral itself. It was only on December 21 following (St. Thomas' Day) that it was used again in all churches by an Act of the Parliament which had sat meanwhile in October.

But before Parliament met, and before the coronation which preceded it, some other important things had taken place. The state of the universities required immediate attention. Gardiner was Chancellor of Cambridge—an office from which he had been removed in the late reign, and to which he was now restored—and Sir John Mason of Oxford. Both chancellors, in obedience to letters from the queen, proceeded to restore the ancient statutes and religion. Peter Martyr, after being shut up in his house for six weeks, escaped from Oxford and found his way to his old patron at Lambeth in the beginning of September. Cranmer had just been disturbed by the fact that mass had been said in his own cathedral at Canterbury, and still more by a report that it had been done by his order, and that he had promised to say mass before the queen herself. To clear himself he drew up a manifesto, offering, with the queen's leave, to prove that the Communion Book of King Edward was agreeable to the order laid down by Christ himself, and that the mass had no apostolic or primitive authority. And as Peter Martyr's name for learning was disparaged, he offered to hold a public disputation upon the subject, supported by Martyr and four or five others whom he would name. This, of course, was written with Martyr's approval; and Cranmer professed that he meant to have had the document written out at greater length and posted, with his seal attached, on the door of St. Paul's Church, when it was divulged by accident through a copy given to Scory, the deprived Bishop of Chichester. Presently, every

Cranmer offers to dispute.

scrivener's shop was full of copies, and Cranmer was summoned before the Council on September 13. There were more serious things against him, however, than the publication of a document, and next day he was committed to the Tower for treason.

Just before his committal Peter Martyr dined with him, and Cranmer advised him to do his best to procure a passport out of England, for he was sure he should never see his face again. Failing a passport, he must betake himself to flight. In a few days, however, Martyr obtained a very honourable passport from the queen, who had no desire to persecute; and he sailed to Antwerp, whence he afterwards made his way to Strassburg. So also the French Protestants in London were expressly allowed to depart, with letters written in their behalf to the mayors of Dover and Rye. A Lasco, too, with his Dutch and German friends, was allowed to sail for Denmark (a company of 175 souls in two ships), but from their ill repute as sacramentaries they had almost as great difficulty in finding a resting-place on the Continent as in England. Finally, Somerset's colony of Flemings at Glastonbury was broken up, and they also had passports for their departure abroad.

Foreign Protestants leave England.

It was now determined that the coronation should take place without delay, notwithstanding a religious difficulty which might seem more theoretical than practical. Coronation was a religious rite, and could not properly be performed while a kingdom lay under excommunication. There was no help for it, however. Even reconciliation to Rome must be preceded by the repeal of unjust laws. By one of these the queen's own title to the crown was affected, unless she was content to be recognised as a bastard succeeding only under her father's will. By others papal supremacy had been abolished, mass had been made illegal, and a form of worship established which was deemed by many to be heretical. If anti-papal laws were to be repealed, Parliament must meet, and before Parliament met Mary must be crowned. She herself took no pleasure in her royal dignity except that the fact of her succession would enable her to repeal injustice and restore true religion. But she must await a legate from the Holy Father to reconcile the realm to Rome.

Of course the pope had already seen the importance of sending one promptly, and whom could he send on such a mission but Cardinal Pole? Mary and Pole were quite of one mind in religious matters, and Pole had suffered exile now for one-and-twenty years for no other cause than for upholding the legitimacy of her birth and the authority of the Roman pontiff. At the time of Edward VI.'s death he was at the monastery of Maguzzano on the Lago di Garda, to which he had withdrawn himself shortly before by leave of Julius III. The pope at once sent him a commission as legate, not only to Mary in England, but also to the emperor and Francis II. of France, as he might have to pass through both their territories; and Mary awaited his coming with eagerness, that papal authority might be restored, and her kingdom reconciled to the Holy See.

Pole named legate for England.

But Pole's coming was anticipated by another envoy. Cardinal Dandino, papal legate to Charles V. at Brussels, was a good deal nearer England than Pole, and despatched thither secretly a young man named Commendone to learn the state of the kingdom. Commendone performed his mission with great ability. He was in London on August 13, and saw the dagger thrown at Dr. Bourne at Paul's Cross, and before leaving he also witnessed Northumberland's execution on the 22nd. He contrived to get private interviews with the queen, who declared to him her intention of sending ambassadors to Rome, and annulling the laws passed against the ancient religion. Meanwhile she desired a pardon from the pope for those who had yielded to tyranny in rejecting his authority. On his return, Commendone was sent by Cardinal Dandino to the pope, who was moved to tears by his information. On his way to Rome he, by the cardinal's instructions, visited Pole, telling him that England was yet in too unsettled a condition to receive a legate, and he also stopped Richard Pate, whom Pole was sending to England in advance. Pate's arrival in England might indeed have been a little awkward for reasons which were not those of Cardinal Dandino. He had been Henry VIII.'s ambassador to Charles V., and, being recalled in 1540, instead of returning to England, had fled to Rome, and was soon after appointed by the

Commendone's mission.

pope to the bishopric of Worcester, vacated, according to the view taken at Rome, by the death of Cardinal Ghinucci, whose deprivation by Act of Parliament in 1534 was not recognised there. Of course Pate was attainted and had no real possession of the See of Worcester, which was meanwhile held under Henry VIII. by Bishop Heath, and under Edward VI. by Hooper. But Hooper was now ignored and Heath again recognised as bishop; so that the claims of Pate could not have been immediately allowed, even by a queen so devoted to the Holy See as Mary.

Pole was thus interrupted in his mission, and was disappointed to find that Mary herself was governed by practical considerations which he would fain have ignored. She in fact had sent a message to the pope desiring absolution, not only for herself in allowing herself to be crowned before the kingdom was reconciled, but also for Bishop Gardiner who was to perform the ceremony, and for other Catholics that they might administer the sacraments without sin before the general absolution could be had. Relying on this, she prepared for her coronation. In September the two chief justices and some other prisoners were released from the Tower, and Cranmer and Latimer were conveyed thither, the latter being committed for "seditious demeanour." At the end of the month she took up her abode there herself for two nights, and from thence made a royal procession through the city on the 30th, when, besides pageants and choirs of children on the route, an acrobat amused the crowd by strange performances on the top of St. Paul's steeple. Next day she was crowned at Westminster, Bishop Gardiner proclaiming at the same time her general pardon to all except prisoners in the Tower and the Fleet, and a few others. She had carefully considered beforehand the terms of her coronation oath, in which she promised, not only to preserve the liberties of the realm, but to maintain the rights of the Holy See.

Queen Mary crowned.

Parliament met on October 5—four days after the coronation. Whether it was, like most of its predecessors, a Parliament elected under undue influences, cannot well be ascertained; it certainly differed greatly in its composition from the last, and was not in all things quite

Parliament.

subservient. It was opened with a mass of the Holy Ghost; the queen was present, and Gardiner, as chancellor, made a speech on the necessity of returning to the unity of the Church, confessing that he himself, with the bystanders, shared in the guilt of schism. The queen was uncomfortable about her inherited title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and by what was doubtless a royal message, though a contemporary diarist calls it an Act passed in the Parliament, men were allowed freely to discuss whether that title was appropriate, or whether the pope should not be again acknowledged. In a first session, which extended to Saturday, October 21, an Act was passed declaring in its preamble the mild spirit in which the new sovereign desired to reign, regretting past severities, and trusting that her subjects would obey her for love rather than for fear; in conformity with which sentiments all treasons were abolished that had been defined as such since the 25th year of Edward III., and all enactments were repealed by which new offences had been made felony or liable to *præmunire* since the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign. On the 24th the Houses resumed, and much important legislation was carried reversing that of past years. First, the queen's legitimacy was declared, and the validity of her father and mother's marriage. Then the whole of the Edwardine legislation concerning the sacraments, uniformity, and priests' marriages was repealed, the services authorised by those acts being tolerated only till December 20. Then an Act was passed against disturbing divine service and irreverent handling of the host, permitting any constable or churchwarden to arrest such offenders, who might then be committed to prison by any justice for three months, to be afterwards brought up at quarter-sessions, when they might be liberated on repentance. These were the principal Acts that touched the Church. Among others may be noted a new Act against unlawful assemblies.

Convocation.

Within a fortnight after the first meeting of parliament the Convocation of Canterbury also met, under the presidency of Bishop Bonner, as the archbishop was in prison. A curious fact is stated by Heylin, that in the writ of summons to this Convocation the queen was styled "Supreme Head of the Church of England"—a title which

had been dropped in the writs for Parliament. On the opening day, October 18, Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, conveyed a message from the queen that they should debate matters of religion, and lay down laws for it which should be ratified in parliament. This was the more necessary as Ponet's Catechism had been put forth as authorised by Convocation, which in truth it never was. Besides, there was the Book of Common Prayer, "very abominable" in the eyes of good Catholics. The sacramental teaching of the Catechism was accordingly first discussed, and its defenders were invited to declare their arguments. Much of this discussion has been preserved. But in the end the arguments against transubstantiation were declared unsatisfactory, and that doctrine was formally approved. Theology was brought back to the old standard without any reference to the pope.

Parliament was dissolved on Wednesday, December 6, by the queen in person, after she had given her consent to thirty-one statutes. Convocation was only dissolved on the 13th. Parliament might have lasted longer if greater difficulty had not been found in restoring papal authority than in the abrogation of the Edwardine innovations in religion. The House of Commons, especially, viewed the prospect of a return to papal jurisdiction with anything but satisfaction. That House also gave special offence to the queen in November, having been moved by agents of the French ambassador to petition her to marry an Englishman and not a foreigner. She had already decided that question privately on October 29, when, in the presence only of the imperial ambassador and one of her female attendants, she threw herself on her knees before the Holy Sacrament, reciting the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, her two spectators doing the like, and on rising gave her royal word to the ambassador that she would marry the emperor's son Philip, Prince of Spain. And the fact that this marriage was in prospect was already known when the Commons attempted to interfere.

The queen engaged to Philip of Spain.

Meanwhile, on November 13, Cranmer, Lord Guildford Dudley, and the Lady Jane, with Ambrose and Henry Dudley, brothers of Lord Guildford, were indicted of treason at the Guildhall, and, pleading guilty, received sentence of death.

Their attainders were confirmed by Parliament just before it was dissolved. Cranmer sent an appeal to the queen for mercy, as he had been dragged into the plot unwillingly; and for the present neither he nor the others suffered anything worse than imprisonment, the Lady Jane being even allowed to walk about "in the queen's garden and on the hill." By Cranmer's attainder, however, the See of Canterbury became void, and the jurisdiction was given to commissioners by the dean and chapter. On December 15 proclamation was made for re-establishing the mass.

Sentence passed on Cranmer, Lady Jane, and others.

But while everything marked a return to old principles and doctrines, some sensation was created by the appearance just before Christmas of a book professedly printed at "Roane" (*i.e.* Rouen). It was an English translation of Bishop Gardiner's treatise *De Vera Obedientia*, written in 1535 to repudiate papal jurisdiction in England, with a preface, ostensibly composed by Bonner, now Bishop of London, at a time when he was only Archdeacon of Leicester, though he was then also Henry VIII.'s ambassador to Denmark. The object of this publication, which bore at the bottom of the title-page the quotation, "A double-minded man is inconstant in all his ways," was to make both Gardiner and Bonner uncomfortable by reminding them that they had both committed themselves to the view that the lady who was now queen was a bastard, and that the pope had no authority in England. It was a very clever hit, ushered into the world with an extremely virulent preface by the translator, whose name was given on the title-page as Michael Wood. But there is no doubt that this name was fictitious, as also was the date, "From Roane, xxvi. of Octobre, MDLIII." Another edition, certainly printed in London, professed to be printed "in Rome before the Castle of St. Angel, at the sign of St. Peter, in Novembre, Anno do. MDLIII." And each of these editions, curiously, referred on the title-page to the original Latin work as printed at Hamburg, "in officina Francisci Rhodi, mense Ja. MDXXXVI." This is certainly a very suspicious date, as Hamburg does not seem in those days to have possessed a printing-press at all. Moreover, the genuineness of Bonner's

Translation of Gardiner's book against the pope.

preface is also doubted, and weighty reasons have been alleged against it. But perhaps these objections lose their force if we suppose it to have been written, even if not published, abroad to win foreign Protestants to the doctrine of royal supremacy. Bonner was actually at Hamburg at the date in question, and the imputation would not have hurt him if it had been wholly false.

The real significance of this publication, however, is shown in the scurrilous preface of the translator, which is liberal of taunts to other bishops, such as Tunstall of Durham and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield, on the very same subject, as men who had upheld other views than they liked now to acknowledge. This is one of the earliest of the bitter pamphlets, afterwards so common, in which a bishop is called a "bite-sheep," and it abounds with other epithets equally shameful. Bishop Gardiner himself is spoken of as "now lord chancellor and common cut-throat of England," though it does not appear to whose death, even for heresy, he could at this time have been accessory. In short, the style of this preface alone might make one suspect that the "Michael Wood" by whom it was written was no other than the notorious ecclesiastic known as "foul-mouthed Bale," who, writing abroad, found the means at this time to get several pamphlets printed in London, and had issued under the same pseudonym of Michael Wood, on October 1, an equally characteristic "Admonition to the Bishops of Winchester, London, and others."

Bishop Bale.

John Bale, a Suffolk man, at this time fifty-eight years of age, had been prior of the Carmelite Friars at Ipswich, but he adopted new views, broke the rule of his order by marrying, and found a patron and protector in Thomas Cromwell; after whose fall he fled abroad. Upon the accession of Edward VI., however, he came to England again, and obtained the living of Bishopstoke in Hampshire. In August 1552 he went to see the young king at Southampton, no long journey from his parsonage; and, much to his surprise, Edward then and there gave him the bishopric of Ossory in Ireland, and ordered his appointment to be made out by letters-patent. He crossed to Ireland in January following, and has left a graphic account of his

journeyings and experiences there, till, after Mary's accession, the restoration of the old religion compelled him to leave the country; when, with a good deal of trouble, he got conveyed over to Holland. In that year he published the story of his adventures entitled *The Vocacyon of John Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande*, and it is remarkable that this tract also professes to be "Imprinted in Rome before the Castell of S. Angell at the Signe of S. Peter, in Decembre Anno 1553." Of its contents, interesting as they are, all that need be said here is, that they exhibit no small pertinacity on the part of the author in setting forth an unpopular religion, while they also bear witness to great depravity and demoralisation among the Irish.

The match with Philip.

In the matter of her marriage it was certainly unfortunate, not only for Mary herself but for her subjects also, that she had no English counsellor on whom she could rely so fully as she did upon the emperor. A queen-regnant was then a novelty in England, and no one supposed she could maintain her position without a husband. Gossip had spoken of young Edward Courtenay, whom she had liberated from the Tower and restored to ancestral honours as Earl of Devon. Nor was her other cousin, Cardinal Pole, altogether an impossible match, for, as yet, he had only taken deacon's orders, though he had so narrowly escaped being made pope. But Pole himself did not aspire to be the queen's husband; he only desired most eagerly to fulfil his legatine mission and reconcile his country to Rome. In spiritual matters, indeed, he had the queen's entire confidence. But in temporal matters she had been continually guided in times of cruel adversity by the advice of her cousin, the Emperor Charles V.; and though his son Philip, a widower and father of a child of eight, was eleven years younger than herself, she of her own mind thought him the most suitable person for a husband. Gardiner had done what he could to direct her choice otherwise, but Paget took care to flatter her own inclination; and Gardiner, finding her mind made up, acquiesced, and used his best diplomacy to save the interests of the nation from being made subordinate to those of Spain.

This match was a great advantage to the emperor, and he caused his son to break off an engagement with the

Infanta of Portugal in order to effect it. Ever since the peace of 1550 France had been relieved from her old dread of England, for Edward VI.'s government could not afford to add to domestic difficulties by quarrelling with a power which had the young Queen of Scotland in its keeping; while England, for her part, having France for an ally, had been able to brave the threats and indignation of Charles V. provoked by the treatment of Mary when she was princess. In case of war, England and France together could have made communication between the emperor's dominions in Spain and in the Netherlands well-nigh an impossibility. But now all was changed. The emperor, too, was actually by this time at war with France, and England, even if she could not be got to join in that war, would certainly befriend him rather than his enemy.

Of course this alarmed the French as much as it gratified the emperor; and though Mary gave them the most sincere assurances that the resources of England should not be employed against them, it was no wonder that, while politely accepting those assurances, they were not by any means satisfied. Moreover, the French ambassador, Noailles, thought it his duty not only to inquire closely about the dispositions of the English people, but to intrigue, and encourage conspiracy among them—a business in which the Venetian ambassador likewise assisted. It was certainly no secret that the match was very unpopular. On New Year's Day, 1554, the London boys pelted with snowballs some of the retinues of the Flemish envoys sent over by the emperor to arrange it. The men were but harbingers who landed a day before their masters to secure quarters for them; but when the ambassadors themselves landed next day at the Tower Wharf, though they met with a splendid official reception, the people in the streets hung their heads and showed no sign of satisfaction. On January 12 the marriage treaty was signed at Westminster. On the 14th the queen's intentions were intimated officially by Gardiner, as chancellor, to a number of lords and gentlemen in the presence-chamber, and next day to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and others of the city sent for by the Council.

Within six days after came news that Sir Peter Carew and

others were up in Devonshire in opposition to the Spanish marriage, and had taken the city of Exeter. But this was only the first outcome of a conspiracy with many ramifications, of which Gardiner at this time discovered the clue by a conversation with Courtenay, the new Earl of Devon. That unsteady young man, disappointed of the queen's hand, had listened to evil counsellors, who proposed to marry him to the Princess Elizabeth, their original design having been to effect risings in different parts of the country on Palm Sunday, March 18. But the secret was not kept, and the conspirators moved too soon. After the news of Carew's rising in the west came tidings that Sir Thomas Wyatt had risen in Kent, and also that Sir James Croftes had gone to Wales to raise the country there; while the Duke of Suffolk, pardoned already for his attempt to set up his daughter as queen, departed hastily from his house at Sheen and tried to raise the Midlands.

Insurrections.

It was, in truth, an heretical conspiracy with a political pretext. After Wyatt was executed there were heretics that spoke of him as a martyr stirred by "the zeal of God's truth." And it will be easily understood that, just as Mary's chief object in marrying was to secure the old religion on as firm a basis as possible, the political and religious factions which had so long ruled had now set themselves to withstand it. Nor were they particularly scrupulous about the means. The plan was to work upon the English prejudice against foreigners, to declare that hosts of strangers were coming, that Spaniards were haughty and would enslave the English people, and would send Englishmen to the galleys or the mines of New Spain. In Kent, Wyatt said to an adherent who hoped he would restore "the right religion," "Whist! ye may not so much as name religion, for that will withdraw from us the hearts of many; you must only make your quarrel for over-running by strangers. And yet to thee be it said in counsel, as unto my friend, we mind only the restitution of God's word." And Wyatt, who had been brought before the Council in Henry VIII.'s time as an associate of the late Earl of Surrey in breaking windows at night with stone-bows, had no doubt that the sacred cause would best be promoted by rebellion.

Wyatt's rebellion.

Some time before this he had come to London to stir up the newly pardoned Duke of Suffolk and his brothers, but found it inadvisable to go further, and returned to Kent. It was not possible, however, long to cultivate sedition and defer overt rebellion, so he issued a proclamation at Maidstone on January 25. On that very day Suffolk's futile movement in the Midlands collapsed. And, indeed, there was no formidable movement anywhere but in Kent, a county specially noted for rebellions; for the attempt of the Carews to raise the west country was equally a failure. But in Kent Wyatt prevailed wonderfully, assuring the people most untruly that he was perfectly loyal to the queen, and that almost all the nobility, and the Queen's Council likewise, were in sympathy with him against the marriage. His proclamation was read elsewhere than at Maidstone, and a loyal gentleman at Milton who opposed the reading of it was forced out of the market. He made himself master of Rochester, where he met a herald from the queen upon the bridge, and prevented him from proclaiming aloud, within general hearing, her Majesty's pardon to those who would withdraw. He spread alarming tales of the landing of an army of foreigners at Dover. Lord Abergavenny and the Sheriff of Kent, whom he had falsely declared to be sympathisers, would have marched on Rochester, but found their presence necessary to stop mischief elsewhere. The Duke of Norfolk and Sir Henry Jerningham were sent down thither by Gravesend; but at Strood, when about to turn his ordnance against Rochester on the opposite bank of the Medway, the duke found that Captain Bret, with the company of Londoners in his rear, had revolted and taken up the cause of the enemy, crying out, "We are all Englishmen!" Rochester was spared a battery, and the duke felt it necessary to withdraw.

This was on January 29, 1554. Wyatt next stormed Cooling Castle, and then, flushed with success, pressed onward towards London. Matters were so alarming that the queen sent messengers to him on the way. She was surprised, she said, that a subject should rise against her marriage, for even in that matter she wished only to consult the good of her people, and desired to know if he would discuss the matter with delegates sent from her. He replied insolently that he would rather be

trusted than trust, and for his security he must first have the Tower and the queen's person handed over to him, and four of the Council placed in his hands as hostages. On the 31st he had brought his followers up to Greenwich and Deptford.

The queen at the Guildhall.

On February 1 the queen went to the Guildhall and, addressing the citizens, made a powerful appeal to their loyalty and sense of duty, declaring that she had negotiated the marriage by the advice of her Council, who thought it both honourable and for the weal of her subjects, and that if it was not likewise approved by Parliament she was content to remain unmarried. This she was free to say, as she had not yet ratified the treaty. Musters were taken next day of 1000 men, and the Candlemas service was omitted in St. Paul's. On the 3rd, Wyatt and his men entered Southwark and entrenched themselves at the foot of London Bridge, setting two pieces of ordnance against the gate. But he was kept out of the city by Lord William Howard, the lord admiral, and on the 6th he withdrew and went up the river to Kingston, where he crossed in the night, though the bridge had been partly broken down.

The Londoners, who had been relieved in the evening on learning that he had withdrawn from Southwark, were rudely awakened at four in the morning by the roll of drums warning all to arm themselves and repair to Charing Cross; for scouts had brought the news that he was at Brentford. His progress, however, was delayed by the breaking of the wheels of a gun, and some of his followers deserted him, while others counselled him to leave the gun lying and march on. Among these was the worthy Dr. Ponet, lately called Bishop of Winchester, who, when Wyatt hesitated to take their advice, counselled Captain Bret and others to shift for themselves, as he would do; and he thereupon made his escape to the Continent.

End of the rebellion.

There, doubtless, he composed his *Short Treatise of Politic Power*, published two years later, remarkable not merely for some scurrilous passages but for principles tending to stir up subjects against their sovereigns. But Wyatt, notwithstanding the delay and the warning which the Londoners had received, met with little resistance till he got to Ludgate, where he was refused admittance; on which he fell back on Temple Bar, and was compelled to surrender.

Next day, or a day or two later, the Duke of Suffolk and his brother, Lord Thomas Grey, were committed to the Tower, and on the 10th the Kentish rebels were brought up for trial. Eighty-two were condemned at the Old Bailey and thirty-two at Westminster, and many executions took place a few days later. Mary had been warned by the imperial ambassador, Renard, that she had been too lenient at the outset, and this rebellion seemed to show it. Severity was now necessary for the stability of the Commonwealth. Unhappily, among the sufferers was the innocent Lady Jane, who had been forced into treason and usurpation against her will. She had already been tried and pleaded guilty in November, but Mary had not intended to let the sentence be executed. Her father's late attempt, however, was significant that the old project might be revived; and on the 12th she was beheaded in the Tower, having seen her husband that same morning led out to be beheaded on Tower Hill, and the cart also return with his headless body. Her father, the Duke of Suffolk, was beheaded there on the 23rd. But Mary was far from being merciless even then, and over four hundred rebels who had been taken were brought out of the London prisons to the court at Westminster on the 22nd, coupled with collars and halters about their necks, and kneeling before the queen for mercy received her pardon. As for Wyatt, he was tried and condemned on March 15, and was beheaded on Tower Hill on April 11.

Wyatt had confessed soon after his apprehension that a plan had been entertained, set forth by French agents, for marrying the queen's sister Elizabeth to Courtenay, the restored Earl of Devon, and even for putting the queen to death; and that but for the premature action taken by the conspirators, the French would have supported them by attacks on England from Scotland, Guienne, and on the side of Calais. How far Elizabeth herself was accessory to these schemes cannot clearly be ascertained. She could hardly have known much of the whole design, but some things looked rather suspicious against her. She was then ill at Ashridge in Hertfordshire, thirty-three miles from London; but it is not true, as Foxe has made people believe, that men were sent for her with rude

The Princess Elizabeth.

instructions, rudely carried out, to bring her up alive or dead. On the contrary, the queen sent her own litter for her by Lord William Howard, her grand-uncle; and the journey was planned beforehand in five easy stages, though in reality, owing to the patient's weakness, she was eleven days upon the road. On entering Whitehall she loudly asserted her innocence, and desired to be taken to the queen. On Saturday, March 17, two noblemen came to convey her by water to the Tower, but she persuaded them to delay while she wrote a letter of remonstrance to the queen; and, a tide being thus lost for the dangerous shooting of London Bridge, it was only on the morning of Palm Sunday, the 18th, that she was conveyed to that grim fortress, making renewed protestations of innocence.

At his trial Wyatt had confessed some things, but strongly denied having consented to the queen's death—a thing which he admitted had been proposed by one William Thomas, a clerk of the Council under Edward VI., who had written a shameless defence of Henry VIII.'s atrocities. But Wyatt declared that he himself had altogether opposed it, and apparently his declaration was quite honest. On the scaffold he also exculpated Elizabeth and Courtenay from the charge of being privy to the rising. And in this, too, he may perhaps be believed; for though Courtenay's head was turned by designing men, it does not follow that he was aware of the means they intended to employ. As for William Thomas, he was naturally called to account, and, after a futile attempt to commit suicide, suffered condign punishment at Tyburn on May 18.

Case of Sir James Hales.

Before concluding this chapter we must mention the sad case of Sir James Hales, the one only judge who had withstood to the last the demand of Edward VI. for his signature to the instrument for altering the succession. By this conduct he had doubtless earned Mary's gratitude; but presently holding assizes in Kent, when some priests were indicted for saying mass, his view of duty led him to charge the jury to find a verdict according to the laws of King Edward, which were still unrepealed. This offended the queen, who expected her prerogative to secure toleration for her co-religionists until the laws could be altered;

and, although she renewed his patent as judge on October 4, Gardiner, as chancellor, refused to administer to him the oath of office. He was also committed to prison, where, being visited by Bishop Day and others, he was won over to a profession of the queen's religion. But he was ill at ease, and attempted suicide with a penknife. He recovered after a while and was released from prison, but a few months later succeeded in drowning himself.

AUTHORITIES.—*Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, and Machyn's *Diary* (all Camden Society publications); Nicolas's *History of Lady Jane Grey*. An interesting Italian letter of July 24, 1553, with additions on the 27th and 28th touching Lady Jane and Queen Mary's accession, will be found in *Lettere di Principi*, iii. 222-226 (ed. 1577); see also Rosso's compilation, *Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra*, published at Venice 1558; Florio's *Historia de l'Illustriss. Sa. Giovanna Graia*, 1607; Guaras's *Narrative of the Accession of Mary* (privately published), edited by R. Garnett; Noailles's *Ambassades;* Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary; Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle*, vol. iv. (Documents Inédits); *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), 370-374, 512; Calendar of Venetian State Papers, especially Pole's *Letters*, Penning's *Report*, no. 813, and Soranzo's *Report*, no. 934; *Gratiani Vita Commendoni*. For Pate, Bishop of Worcester, see Calendar of Henry VIII. vol. xvi. For the Parliament see Statute-Book and Lords' and Commons' Journals. For the disputation in Convocation see Foxe, vi. 395-411, who also gives at p. 414 Mary's speech at the Guildhall; Collier, App. no. lxviii. For Cranmer's appeal to the queen see his *Remains*, p. 442 (Parker Soc.). For Bale see his *Select Works* (Parker Soc.) and Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*. For Wyatt's rebellion see Proctor's Narrative in Grose's *Antiquarian Repertory*, iii. 65-105; Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and Wiesener's *Youth of Queen Elizabeth;* Tridon's paper on Simon Renard and his embassies in *Mémoires* of the Société d'Emulation du Doubs, series 5, vol. vi. (for his English embassy see pp. 169-237). Heylin's *Ecclesia Restaurata* may be consulted for some points.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RECONCILIATION TO ROME

WYATT'S rebellion caused but a temporary interruption of those proceedings which were to bring back England to the bosom of the Church of Rome. Much more, doubtless, could have been done if domestic peace had been preserved; but the very mildness of Mary's beginnings had encouraged both heresy and treason. On Sunday, January 14, just before the outbreak, the old procession before high mass was revived at St. Paul's, "the lord mayor and aldermen going in procession in their violet gowns and cloaks furred as they used every Sunday in King Henry VIII.'s time, afore the sermon began." On March 1, after the rebellion had collapsed and quiet had been again established, the married clergy of London were cited to appear at St. Paul's, and were deprived of their benefices, those who had belonged to religious orders being separated from their wives as well. On the 4th, royal letters were sent to the bishops to correct these and other disorders of the last reign. On Palm Sunday, the 18th, the old service after the use of Sarum was begun again, and palms borne as before; "creeping to the cross" was renewed on Good Friday, and the sepulchre lights and resurrection on Easter Day. "Scriptures" painted on rood lofts with the arms of England were washed out before the solemnity of Easter in most churches of the diocese of London. Dr. May was deprived of the deanery of St. Paul's, which was given to the eminent preacher, Dr. Feckenham. On April 1 six new bishops "after the old sort" were consecrated at St. Mary Overy's by Gardiner, assisted by

A return to the old order of things.

Bonner and Tunstall. These were Dr. White, made Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Bourne, Bishop of Bath; Dr. Morgan, of St. David's; Dr. Brooks, of Gloucester; Dr. Cotes, of Chester; Robert Warton translated from St. Asaph to Hereford, and Maurice Griffin made Bishop of Rochester. The last See had been left over three years vacant; the other five had all been rendered void by deprivations.

In fact, there had just occurred seven deprivations, effected by Gardiner and other royal commissioners under two separate commissions; for three of the bishops now replaced had been appointed only by letters-patent of Edward VI., and held their offices merely during good conduct, while four others had been married. But among the Sees voided by the latter cause were two which were not immediately filled; and Bath, which had also been held by a married bishop, Barlow, seems to have been already resigned by him to save trouble. Indeed, in addition to the seven deprivations, there were actually six Sees at this time already vacant; so that within a twelvemonth half the bishoprics in England found new occupants. Throughout the kingdom also the married clergy were deprived, notwithstanding the Act of Edward VI., and the number thus driven out has been supposed to be one in five, or probably one in six; in the diocese of London, which was no doubt exceptional, it was nearly one in four. But a certain not inconsiderable number received new livings after doing penance and parting with their wives — so strong was the feeling in favour of the old Church law.

Great changes among the bishops.

A Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford, but by new writs was ordered to Westminster, where it met on April 2. The main objects, as it would seem from the first two Acts passed, were to strengthen the royal authority (declaring that the regal power was as complete in a female sovereign as in a male) to confirm the marriage treaties, and to set forth the conditions under which Philip and Mary would be king and queen without involving England in the war between Spain and France. The Convocation of Canterbury, in like manner, was summoned first to Oxford for April 3, but by a second writ to St. Paul's, where it commenced proceedings on the 5th.

Parliament and Convocation.

Its first business, which seemed to be the most important, was to select out of its members a set of divines to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford on the subject of the mass; for it was unanimously resolved that a disputation should be held to counteract an impression which had got abroad that in past disputations these heretics had prevailed over all the Catholics. The queen's government, however, had anticipated this resolution before Convocation had met, and as early as March 8 orders were given to the lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the three prisoners to Sir John Williams to be conveyed to Oxford. Three propositions were drawn up in Convocation to be subjects of debate, and delegates were sent also from the University of Cambridge to aid in maintaining them. We cannot describe the disputation, which occupies nearly a hundred pages in Cattley's edition of Foxe. The proceedings lasted from April 14 to 20, but the result was a foregone conclusion. The arguments of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were finally condemned, but whether this satisfied public opinion better than before may perhaps admit of question. That there are paradoxes in religion all Christians must admit, but such a paradox as transubstantiation can only retain its hold on common minds by the belief that all wiser heads are agreed upon it; and the day when this could plausibly be said was certainly passing away.

Disputation at Oxford.

Of the three disputants whose opinions were condemned it was said by one of the commissioners (Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester): "Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit." Ridley undoubtedly led the way in repudiating transubstantiation. He was the most directly combative of the three. Cranmer perhaps had the most academic mind, and was complimented by his antagonists on his gentleness and moderation. Latimer, now old and feeble, declined to dispute, but would not sign the required formulæ. The result was reported by the delegates to Convocation on April 27, and on the 30th Walter Philips, Dean of Rochester, a sympathiser hitherto with the condemned opinions, made a retractation first before the Lower and afterwards before the Upper House. On

May 4 the clergy agreed henceforth to allow voting by proxy. On the 25th the Convocation was prorogued by Bonner till October.

On April 2 the Apostles' mass[1] began again at St. Paul's; but on Sunday morning, the 8th, some unknown person was found to have contrived a public insult to the religion which the queen was endeavouring to restore. A dead cat was hung on the gallows in Cheap, habited in garments like those of a priest. It had a shaven crown, and held in its fore-paws a round piece of paper to represent the wafer. At six o'clock in the morning it was taken down and carried to the Bishop of London, who caused it to be shown openly at the sermon-time at Paul's Cross to the rebuke of irreverence. Such a thing could not be thought lightly of in that age. Five days later a reward of 20 marks was offered for the discovery of the author of the outrage, but it was quite ineffectual.

The cat in Cheapside.

There was concealed fire underneath the smoke, and on the 17th the Court was still more distressed by the acquittal of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, tried for treason at the Guildhall. The case against him was certainly suspicious, for he had sent messages to Wyatt before his outbreak, and he undoubtedly sympathised with him in his hatred alike of the Spanish match and of the restoration of the old religion; but his wonderful power of tongue fence, and his effective appeal to the recent humane changes in the law as to treasons, induced the jury to bring in a unanimous verdict in his favour, which was hailed with cheers outside and throwing of caps in the air. The queen was ill for three days after; and Sir Nicholas and the jury that acquitted him were brought before the Star Chamber on the 25th and committed to prison. Four of the jury afterwards confessed to having done wrong, and the other eight were heavily fined. Alarm produced rough measures after the old style, and in May a number both of men and women had their ears nailed to the pillory in Cheap for speaking against the queen and Council. But the dangerous spirit was not easily laid. On Sunday, June 10, as Dr. Pendleton was

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's acquittal.

[1] The editor of the *Grey Friars' Chronicle* misreads the "apostylle masse" as the "epestylle masse."

preaching at Paul's Cross, a gun was discharged at him from a house in Foster Lane, and the pellet hit the church wall close to where the lord mayor sat. By no subsequent inquiry could the malefactor be ascertained. Then there was a mysterious bird or spirit that spoke and whistled through a wall at Aldersgate Street; but it turned out to be a maid who was employed to utter unpleasant things about the queen and the Prince of Spain, the mass, and confession. These were bad preparations for the prince's arrival and the queen's marriage.

The prince, however, landed at Southampton on July 12, and the queen was married to him at Winchester on the 25th.

Marriage of Philip and Mary.

The marriage service was performed by Gardiner in his own cathedral, and after the ceremony he announced that the emperor, to make his son, who was only as yet Prince of Spain, a more equal match for his bride, had resigned to him the kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem. The couple then bore each other's titles, and were immediately proclaimed by heralds as King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, and Counts of Habsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol. On August 1 they were so proclaimed also in London; and after Philip had been installed as a Knight of the Garter at Windsor on the 5th, they entered London on the 18th. We can read of the brilliant pageantry, and the wealth brought with them to England by Spanish visitors, when the riches of the new world displayed themselves in London streets; but the undercurrents were sad. The marriage itself was a political marriage, entered into on both sides from a desire to bring an erring nation back into the unity of Christendom. It was by this means in the first place, as the emperor had persuaded Mary, that the thing was to be done; Pole's legation from the pope might follow when the knot was tied. But from the very first there were symptoms of bad feeling between the English and the Spaniards, and before many weeks were over there were Spaniards hanged for killing Englishmen and Englishmen for fighting with Spaniards.

An episcopal visitation held by Bonner in September

seems to have been to many as exasperating as the influx of Philip's countrymen. The articles of inquiry were numerous and most exhaustive; for they not only aimed at correcting irregularities, but treated as simply null all that had been done even by Acts of Parliament under the late reign affecting religion. Was the parish clergyman married, or not yet separated from his wife? Had any received schismatical and irregular ordination? Had any used services in English since the queen's proclamation? Was the host reserved in a pix hung over the altar? Was the Church supplied with a water-stock, and was holy water renewed every week? Was there a proper stone altar, and did the parishioners supply all the necessary books, chalice, vestments, vessels for incense, sanctus bell, and so forth? Were there still a crucifix and a rood-loft? Questions like these, only far more numerous and minute, formed the subjects of investigation, and several parishes protested that it was impossible to carry out what was required of them; so that in the end the bishop had to give way, and defer execution of them till November 1. Royal authority, indeed, seems to have been appealed to, and Bonner was actually asked how he had taken upon himself to publish such articles without the knowledge of the king and queen or of the Council; on which he boldly replied that it belonged to his office to do so, and he knew well that if he had communicated them he should have been hindered in the service of God. Bonner's visitation.

Of course such a spirit roused the wrath of the reactionary party, and "foul-mouthed Bale," from his exile at Basle, wrote a characteristic pamphlet, entitled "A Declaration of Edmund Bonner's Articles." Whether this was printed at the time does not appear. It was certainly written then; but the first known edition was printed in London seven years later in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when Bonner was in prison. And clearly there were men in 1561 who were glad to read Bale's comment on those "most wicked articles" and his abuse of "bloody Bonner," that "limb of the devil" and "butcherly bite-sheep," though the much-reviled bishop had not yet, when this pamphlet was composed, won much of a name in connection with the burning of heretics. Such virulent abuse only shows the bitter spirit which opposed

itself to Bonner's visitation; and this in itself should warn us not to accept too easily the colouring given to some of the incidents of that visitation in Foxe's pages, for Foxe was quite as prejudiced and unfair as Bishop Bale. It is likely enough that Bonner was angry when the bells were not rung at Hadham on his approach, when he found no pix hanging and no crucifix in the rood-loft, and also that he refused to stay and dine with the disobedient vicar, and went on to Ware. But that he flew into a passion, swore, struck out with his arm, and boxed the ear (by mistake) of a bystander instead of the incumbent, are statements which, though undoubtedly picturesque, require to be received with caution.

Delay of Pole's mission.

As to Pole's legation, it had been deliberately kept back by the emperor till the marriage was secure. Charles V., no doubt, felt himself a true son of the Church, hating Lutheranism and heresy (which he always found very inconvenient), but he was quite persuaded, as a ruler of this world, that the Church must wait the convenience of earthly potentates to smooth the way for her. And though, perhaps, there was no danger that the legate, once started on his mission, would supplant his son as the bridegroom of the queen to whom he was accredited, yet Pole's counsel would certainly be for the formal reconciliation of the kingdom to Rome before anything else was done. That would never suit Charles V. Pole had already been stopped in his mission by another papal legate, who, residing at the emperor's court, saw the matter very much as the emperor did. The pope himself, too, not unconscious of causes which might delay the restoration of his authority in England, had given Pole an additional mission to occupy his enforced leisure on the way. He withdrew his two legates from France and Flanders, and committed to Pole the task of mediating for peace between the two belligerent princes, Henry II. and the emperor. On this mission Pole started, and had got little farther than Dillingen when he was met by a messenger from the emperor telling him that it would be wasted labour to go forward. The emperor, indeed, did all he could to interrupt Pole's communications with England, while Mary herself found evidence at home that his speedy coming would alarm all the new owners of Church property.

In December 1553, however, the emperor had relented and invited Pole to Brussels, where he received him in January. But his efforts as mediator were fruitless. Charles and his ministers insisted that the French alone were answerable for the prolongation of the war, and Pole bent his steps in February to the French court, where he was detained till April and returned to Brussels. The emperor then told him he might as well have remained in France, and evidently wished him to be recalled. He remained, however, at Brussels, as the pope could not recall him without loss of dignity, and Mary was already dependent on his advice about the new bishops whom she was obliged to appoint by that very royal supremacy that she detested. Even after the marriage had taken place in England there were further difficulties about Pole's mission. Parliament had not yet reversed his attainder, holders of Church property were not comfortable; and though he had powers from the pope to allow them to retain it, the emperor was not satisfied that they were large enough to give full assurance. In September he wrote a long letter of remonstrance to King Philip. He had been a whole year, he said, kept knocking at the palace gate, which no one would open to him. And who was it knocked? One who, to prevent the queen from being excluded from the succession, had been expelled from home and country for twenty years. And in Pole's person Peter too had been knocking at the gate, delivered anew, it might be said, from Herod's prison. Was it fear or joy that prevented Mary from opening the door? Pole knew that Mary rejoiced, but she must also have fears, to delay so long. The delay, however, he presumed, was to enable Philip to aid her, and surely the time was now come. In answer to this appeal Philip sent over the imperial ambassador Renard to confer with him and arrange matters. The difficulty was still about lay impropriators of Church property, with whom Pole did not feel justified in making any bargain; for though it was plain enough that immediate or even general restitution was impossible, and he did not mean to press the matter, he felt that it was a duty for every one to restore by degrees what he could. At Rome, indeed, a more practical view of the matter

His ineffectual mediation between the emperor and France.

His letter to Philip.

was taken; and it was held that as the Church might alienate her property for the redemption of prisoners, she might also frankly give it up for the recovery of a realm to the faith. But Pole's assurances satisfied Renard, and Lords Paget and Hastings were sent over to conduct him to England.

Meanwhile, a new Parliament—the third of the reign—had assembled on November 12, summoned by writs in an unwonted form. The title of Supreme Head of the Church was now omitted; it would have been absurd in the case of *two* Sovereigns, of whom, moreover, only one was a native. The object of the summons was declared to be to withstand the malice of the devil's ministers in maintaining heresies and seditions; and the sheriffs were directed to choose knights, citizens, and burgesses "of the wise, grave, and Catholic sort." The first business of the legislature was to reverse Pole's attainder in view of his coming. The bill went through the Lords in two days, and then went down to the Commons, where it was read three times in one day and sent back; and the king and queen came to give it the royal assent on November 22.

A third Parliament.

Meanwhile, Pole, who had been received in Calais with salvoes of artillery, crossed to Dover, not as legate but only as cardinal, and, travelling by Canterbury to Rochester, received there a message by Pate, whom he had sent on to the queen, requesting him to come to her in his legatine capacity, for the exercise of which a patent had been made out. Then at Gravesend a noble deputation informed him of the reversal of his attainder, just two days before. So, all obstacles removed, he embarked in a royal barge with his silver cross in the prow, and reached London with a favourable tide even before he was expected. Landing at Whitehall, he received a cordial welcome from the king and queen; and on the 28th, the Houses having been summoned to the palace for the purpose, he declared to them in the royal presence the object of his legation.

Pole at last reaches England;

This the Speaker declared again next day to the Commons, and the two Houses agreed in a supplication to the king and queen to procure through the cardinal their pardon from the pope, and reunion with the Church of Rome. This supplication was adopted unanimously

and absolves the realm from schism.

by the Lords; in the Commons only one member, Sir Ralph Bagnall, objected, on the ground that he had sworn to the laws of Henry VIII. On St. Andrew's Day, the 30th, the document was presented, and the queen besought the legate to absolve the realm for its long-continued schism and disobedience. Pole then rose and, after an appropriate address, pronounced the desired absolution, while all, even the king and queen, knelt before him. Two days later (December 2) was the first Sunday in Advent, when the king and queen, and the legate also, heard mass at St. Paul's, and a very remarkable sermon was preached by Bishop Gardiner from the epistle of the day — "Now it is high time to awake out of sleep" (Rom. xiii. 11). The preacher lamented the heresies in which England had slept for twenty years, and expressed regret for the part he had himself taken in upholding Henry VIII.'s supremacy. He also informed the people, which he could do as one who had special knowledge, that even Henry had twice been on the point of seeking reconciliation with Rome, and that once the Council of Edward VI. had been moved in the same direction. The report of what he said on these points must be inaccurate in detail; but the fact that once, at least, Henry very nearly commissioned Gardiner himself to ask the emperor to make his peace with Rome, can be shown by other evidence.

Gardiner's sermon.

The joy of the queen and of the nation generally was increased by the belief that she was at this time with child, and orders were given by Bishop Bonner for thanksgiving services throughout the diocese of London on November 29. Unhappily, the symptoms were mistaken, and as time went on the anticipation proved groundless. But Parliament, aided by Convocation, proceeded to fulfil her most ardent wishes in other things. Convocation, which had met on November 13 (again under Bonner's presidency), made its own submission to the legate on December 6, and received its own special absolution for past sins and heresies. On the 7th, after much consultation on the relations of Church and State, the Houses agreed upon a protestation to be addressed to the king and queen for the restitution of the old jurisdiction of the clergy, but without desiring restoration of Church lands, which they agreed

The queen believed to be with child.

would be both difficult and dangerous. In later sittings they craved, among other things, that the Church might have the full liberties allowed her by Magna Charta; that Cranmer's book on the sacrament and the English service-books authorised in the last reign might be destroyed; that the limits of *præmunire* might be defined, so that ordinaries should not incur it by inadvertence; and that the old canon law should be restored.

As for Parliament, it was not long in taking steps to redeem a promise made to the legate to repeal past enactments against the See of Rome. A committee of the Lords was appointed on December 6 to confer with another of the Commons with a view to drawing a bill for this purpose; and the measure ultimately became law. But before it was even drafted, another Act which left a deeper mark in history slipped easily through all its stages in both Houses. It was a very short Act—simply to revive three old statutes for the punishment of heretics, seeing that they had lately made themselves so dangerous. For his own purposes Henry VIII. had circumscribed the scope of the heresy laws. The Protector Somerset had abolished them altogether. But since then England had been a prey to faction and intrigue, religious and political, both during Edward's reign and Mary's, and things seemed growing continually worse. For these reasons it was that methods once potent to restrain what was considered to be religious disorder were again brought into operation. No new force was invoked; there was simply to be a renewal of old things. And no one seems to have suggested that the embankment which had once held in a lake would be insufficient to keep out an ocean. So the heresy laws of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. were called back into life. The bill passed through the House of Commons in three days (Dec. 13-15), and in three days it also passed the Lords (Dec. 15, 17, and 18). It was in the Lords, however, that it met with most opposition, partly because it increased the authority of bishops, and partly because the severity of the old punishment for heresy was disliked. For men had human feelings even in those days; but strong measures were thought necessary, even for the public quiet.

Revival of the heresy laws.

The bill for repealing enactments against the See of Rome

required very much more discussion. It was introduced in the Lords on December 20, read a second time on the 24th, and passed there on the 26th, Bishop Bonner being the only dissentient. But in the Commons, after a first reading on the 27th, and a second on the 29th, it was debated on two separate days, December 29 and January 2, before it was passed on the 3rd. It was by no means a pure Act of repeal, and we can have no doubt as to the causes which created most discussion when we read the double title by which it took its place on the Statute Book:—"An Act repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., and also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity." There was no great objection felt to a return to the old *régime* if it were made quite clear that the owners of monastic lands were perfectly secure in their titles.

Repeal of enactments against Rome.

On New Year's Day 1555—a fortnight after the heresy bill had passed both Houses (though it was only to take effect from January 20)—a secret assembly of men and women was broken up by the authorities. They were holding an English service by night in a house in Bow Churchyard, with prayers and a lectern. Those present were arrested, and the minister, Thomas Rose, was committed to the Tower. This Thomas Rose had a curious history. Two-and-twenty years before he had been confederate with four men who burned the rood of Dovercourt in Essex. The others were hanged for it, but he himself escaped, and afterwards got a licence to preach from Cromwell. After the Six Articles, however, he fled abroad till Edward VI.'s time, from whom he got a benefice; and he was now organising secret services at which the prayer was used—"God turn the heart of Queen Mary from idolatry, or else shorten her days!" To avoid suspicion he and his friends had several meeting-places in and about London, where they had collections "for Christ's prisoners," and would sometimes gather £10 at a night meeting—a sum equal to £100 now. But it was considered that such prayers about the queen should henceforth be made treason, and an Act was passed

A secret English service interrupted.

to that effect before the session closed. So much consideration, however, was shown to misguided bigotry, that the Act contained a provision that any persons who had been guilty before it was passed and expressed penitence before the judges should merely be awarded some corporal punishment and discharged.

Parliament was dissolved on January 16; and on the 18th, by a royal Act of clemency, political prisoners were pardoned and released from the Tower. Among these were four Dudleys, sons of the late Duke of Northumberland, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. The lord chancellor and other lords of the Council went to the Tower to deliver them, and the event was proclaimed abroad by great firing of guns. But there remained in city prisons offenders of another kind, heretical preachers of the last reign, for whom no mercy was to be expected unless they relinquished those opinions which endangered the stability of the new reconciliation with Rome. Among these were three of the deprived Edwardine bishops —Hooper of Gloucester, Ferrar of St. David's, and Coverdale of Exeter—Dr. Rowland Taylor, John Philpot, John Bradford, Dr. Edward Crome, John Rogers, and other notabilities. Although imprisoned, as they complained, in the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate as if they had been rebels, traitors, thieves, or law-breakers, their confinement could not have been very strict, for they circulated writings among themselves, and had found it possible to prepare and sign, on May 8, 1554, a joint declaration on religious matters, occasioned, as it would seem, by a report, just after the disputation of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford, that they too would be conveyed to one of the two universities to dispute. This they declared they had no mind to do, unless it were before the queen and her Council, or before the two Houses of Parliament. The declarations of both universities, they said, were directly against God's word, and even against their own determinations in the late reign; and they gave five other reasons besides why they should not dispute, especially as the Oxford disputation, they maintained, had been conducted unfairly. But they were willing to discuss doctrines in writing, and would maintain to

Liberation of State prisoners from the Tower.

The imprisoned preachers.

the death certain common principles which they set forth, admitting the authority of the Catholic Church and the creeds, upholding justification by faith only, and objecting to Latin services, purgatory, and transubstantiation, the adoration of the sacrament, and the inhibition of priests' marriages. At the same time they professed entire loyalty to the queen and deprecated any kind of rebellion or sedition.

Such was the attitude of these prisoners in May 1554. But about the end of that year, or the beginning of the year 1555, on which we have now entered, a second declaration, as it is called, of the nature of an appeal to Parliament, had been drawn up in their name, it is supposed by John Bradford, the tone of which was a good deal bolder, and scarcely that of suppliants. "We, poor prisoners for Christ's religion," it says, "require your Honours, in our dear Saviour Christ's name, earnestly now to repent for that you have consented of late to the unplacing of so many godly laws set forth touching the true religion of Christ before, by two most noble kings." These laws, they alleged, had only been passed after much discussion among the most learned men at Windsor, Cambridge, and Oxford, and with the willing and general consent of the whole realm; so that not a single parish in England, they maintained, really wished to return to "the Romish superstitions and vain service" which had now been restored. These superstitions, moreover, had been restored in contempt of God and the Bible, "with such open robbery and cruelty as in Turkey was never used"; and the petitioners ended by asking leave to justify the homilies and services of King Edward's days as truly Catholic, and to prove that the services since used were not so, offering their bodies to be burned if they failed to establish their case.

If this challenge was really preferred in public—a thing which it is hardly safe to presume—what wonder if the poor prisoners were taken at their word? But it is quite untrue, as Foxe and his school have made the world believe, that the authorities were savage or ferocious. The prisoners were summoned before the lord chancellor (Bishop Gardiner) and the Council sitting at the bishop's house by St. Mary Overy's on January 22, and were formally arraigned for heresy. But the only thing to be

Examination of preachers by the Council.

ascertained that day was whether they could be brought, in conformity with the rest of the kingdom, to return to the unity of the Church Catholic by acknowledging the pope's supremacy. It seems that ten persons were brought out of Newgate before the Council, only one of whom, at that time, gave in his submission, and the rest were remanded to prison. Two prisoners besides, whose names were down for examination, were not called, apparently because the Council were so much occupied with the others. For the conversation between the Council and some of the prisoners opened up very serious questions, as appears by the records left of it, which in some cases have been supplied by one or other of the prisoners themselves, describing his own examination.

Of these the most remarkable is John Rogers's account of what was done in his case. We cannot recapitulate fully a testimony which even Foxe has condensed too much. The lord chancellor began by presuming that Rogers was aware of the state of the realm as the result of what had lately taken place; and when Rogers said he had no information to go upon, having been kept close prisoner, the lord chancellor told him about the reconciliation of the realm to Rome, and asked him, "How say ye? Are ye content to unite yourself to the faith of the Catholic Church with us?" Rogers replied that he had never dissented from the Catholic Church; but as to the new state of matters, he could not acknowledge "the Bishop of Rome" as head of the Church, or any other head but Christ. He had, indeed, acknowledged Henry VIII.'s supremacy, but not in spiritual things, and he reminded Gardiner that he and all the bishops of the realm had twenty years ago repudiated papal supremacy and written against it. This was an awkward fact certainly, as the lord chancellor himself had written the most effective of all the treatises. But now the truth came out. "Tush!" he said, "that Parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish the primacy of the Bishop of Rome." "With cruelty?" said Rogers in reply; "why, then, I perceive you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded by

Rogers.

cruelty?" The chancellor could only reply that Henry VIII.'s Act was forced on the Parliament by strong intimidation, whereas in this Parliament the acceptance of reconciliation was free and unanimous.

Another prisoner, Dr. Rowland Taylor, parson of Hadleigh in Suffolk, gave an account of his examination that day in a letter to a friend. The lord chancellor told him: "You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king and queen's Majesties' favour and mercy if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm; from which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered miraculously." Thus it was that Gardiner put the matter, including himself among those who had experienced a fall and rejoiced in a great deliverance. Nor is there any reason to think otherwise than that his words were both sincere and kindly meant. Under Henry VIII., it is true, he had acquiesced in royal supremacy, since the king had taken such a responsibility upon himself, and had written in support of it. But the arbitrary and unjust proceedings under Edward VI. had brought home to him the feeling that the constitution had been unhinged in Church and State, and he believed the realm now to have recovered from a great abasement. Not so, however, thought Taylor, who answered "that so to rise should be the greatest fall that ever he could receive; for he should so fall from Christ to Anti-Christ." He considered the religion set forth in Edward's days to be quite in accordance with Scripture, and apart from Scripture he acknowledged no other rule. Secretary Bourne on this asked him which religion of King Edward's days he meant, as there were divers books set forth. Would he stick by my lord of Canterbury's catechism? Taylor said that catechism was not of Cranmer's own making, but it did good for the time. He meant, however, the whole Church service authorised by Edward's Parliament, which had only once been amended, and was now, in his view, perfect.

Dr. Rowland Taylor.

The prisoners were all remanded except one, who was liberated on promising to "be an honest man as his father was before him." Their trial was arranged for the 28th. Meanwhile, on the 25th (St. Paul's Day), there was a general procession of every parish in

General procession.

London, eightscore priests and clerks singing *Salve festa dies*, with ninety crosses borne through the streets, in honour of the reconversion of the realm to the ancient faith. The children of Grey Friars and St. Paul's School led the way. Eight mitred bishops proceeded to the cathedral, Bonner bearing the sacrament under a canopy, followed by the lord mayor and aldermen and all the city crafts. Presently the king came, and the cardinal, and the Prince of Piedmont—Duke of Savoy, as he had now become, who was on a brief visit to England; and at night there were bonfires and ringing of church bells everywhere. Another great procession from Westminster to Temple Bar was headed by Dean Weston on the 27th.

On the 28th, Pole, as legate, issued a commission to Gardiner and a large number of bishops and others for the trial of the imprisoned preachers, who were accordingly brought that day before their judges, not in Gardiner's house as before, but in the church of St. Mary Overy's hard by. The church was filled, and there were crowds outside, attracted by the extraordinary interest of the proceedings, which occupied three consecutive days. It was not long before one of the accused, John Taylor, otherwise named Cardmaker, made a recantation, though some time after he retracted it and died a martyr. But his example and that of Bishop Barlow, who had likewise recanted, were urged in vain upon the others. The first day and part of the second were mainly occupied by the examinations of Hooper and Rogers, who, on January 29, had sentence pronounced against them to be degraded from the priesthood and delivered over to the secular power. On the third day (January 30) John Bradford, Rowland Taylor, and Laurence Saunders were likewise excommunicated. Dr. Crome, who desired two months' respite to consider his submission, was allowed one month.

The preachers tried by the legate's commission.

It is impossible here to record much of what is known of these men personally, interesting as their individual histories are. And this is the more to be regretted because that which is known comes mainly from a source notoriously prejudiced, and therefore requiring to be used with some discrimination. Foxe's narrative has indeed

Foxe's account of them.

been exposed as untrustworthy by reason of its bias, but has not even yet been subjected to complete and thorough criticism. But we have only to keep our eyes open, and make allowance for the colouring, in order to find in his statements a very credible account, generally speaking, of what actually took place. We need not suppose, for instance, that Sir John Mordaunt, "a councillor to Queen Mary," who overtook Laurence Saunders going to London and endeavoured to dissuade him from violating the queen's proclamation by preaching at Bread Street, was moved by "an uncharitable mind" in warning Bishop Bonner of his intention. But we may feel a certain sympathy with the enthusiastic preacher, to whom all royal mandates on such a subject were indifferent. Nor should we forget that Queen Mary's government took much the same view of the Edwardine ordinances for religion as the Edwardine preachers did of Mary's. There was right divine in either case, superior to the laws of the land; but in Mary's case it was simply an old right divine restored, and even enforced as soon as might be by Parliament. The old right divine apart from the law of the realm was the canon law, of which the clergy were the authorised interpreters, and whose authority the laws of the land had respected till the days of Henry VIII. The new right divine was the authority of the Scriptures interpreted by the individual judgments of men who were ready to defend their positions by logical syllogisms.

Preachers of this sort dared the fire, and were prepared for it. The experience of twenty years had encouraged them to believe that papal authority was no authority at all. The experience of twenty years, on the other hand, had convinced Mary, and no doubt her subjects generally, that defiance of papal authority had shaken the foundation of all other authority whatever. Rebellion and treason had been nourished by heresy — nay, heresy was the very root from which they sprang. And it was really more important in the eyes of Mary to extirpate the root than merely to lop off the branches. She had all possible desire to show indulgence to the misguided if they could be brought to a better state of mind; and the bishops might be trusted, especially Bishop Bonner, to do their very utmost to dissuade the obstinate

from rushing on their fate. But there was to be no more toleration for incurable perversity, for the heresy laws were now revived.

On February 4 was enacted the first of a long succession of tragedies. John Rogers was taken from Newgate and burned at Smithfield. His fate excited general sympathy. His wife and children met him on the way and witnessed the painful spectacle, while the crowd cheered him in such a fashion that the French ambassador wrote that he seemed to be going to his marriage. Such a death was in keeping with the severe religion he had professed; for his views were like those of Bishop Hooper, with whom he quite agreed about vestments. The law of Scripture was his only rule, and it was he who is believed, under the name of Thomas Matthew, to have edited the Bible in 1537, with a dedication to Henry VIII. Under Edward VI. he had been a prebendary of St. Paul's, and divinity lecturer there; so he bore witness in his death to what he had persistently taught. Before he left his prison that morning he had been degraded from the priesthood by Bishop Bonner, who did the same office also to Bishop Hooper, and then went from Newgate to the Counter in the Poultry to degrade Dr. Taylor. Next day Hooper was despatched to Gloucester to suffer there, and Laurence Saunders to Coventry to suffer there. On the 6th Dr. Taylor was carried down into Suffolk, and was burned on Aldham Common, beside Hadleigh, on the 9th. Six other heretics from Essex and from Suffolk were arraigned on the 9th at St. Paul's before the lord mayor and sheriffs, the Bishop of London, and some members of the Council, and were condemned likewise to be burned in different places. On the 19th Bonner, in accordance with general directions given to the bishops by Cardinal Pole, issued an earnest appeal to the laity of his diocese to be reconciled to the Church during the coming Lent, and four days later gave orders to his clergy to certify the names of those who did not confess and receive the sacrament at Easter.

The first martyrdoms.

But the violence of the heretics soon after manifested itself in various ways. First, a new stone image of St. Thomas of Canterbury, over the door of the

Mercers' Chapel, was wilfully mutilated at night on March 14, and the culprit could never be discovered. A far worse outrage followed on Easter Sunday, April 14. While the priest at St. Margaret's, Westminster, was holding the chalice in his left hand, one William Branch, otherwise named Flower, struck him on the head with a wood-knife, so that his blood fell both on the chalice and on the consecrated host. The man had been a monk of Ely, who on the royal visitation got leave to forsake his habit, and afterwards married. He had long premeditated the crime as a protest against idolatry, to which he was "compelled by the Spirit." On Christmas Day he had even got up early to do it at St. Paul's, but his heart failed him on that occasion, and now he was ready "to die for the Lord." An act so hideous was felt to require very special punishment; but it was not as a civil crime, but as heresy, that the case was to be dealt with. And atrocious as the outrage was, it was all the more important that Bonner, as a good bishop, should urge the unhappy man to repent and be reconciled to the Church before he suffered. Flower thanked him for his attentions, and after being called before the bishop, and exhorted more than once, at length confessed that he had done ill in striking the priest; but the reason for which he struck him he still maintained was right. To mark the enormity of his offence, the Council ordered that before he died he should have his hand struck off. This was done on April 24, and he was immediately afterwards burned in the churchyard of that church which he had profaned. His story is given by Foxe as that of a "faithful servant of God."

Violence of the heretics.

Can it be wondered at that the age considered "erroneous opinions" dangerous? The burning of heretics was a barbarous, old-fashioned remedy, but it is not true that either the bishops or the government adopted it without reluctance. Cardinal Pole, at the breaking up of Convocation in January, had exhorted the bishops to use gentleness rather than rigour towards heretics in their efforts to reclaim them. King Philip was of the same mind, and his Spanish confessor, Alfonso à Castro, preached before the court, on February 10, a sermon to the same effect, even blaming the bishops, if

Foxe may be trusted, "for burning of men." The Spanish ambassador, Renard, also urged upon Philip the extreme danger of severities which the heretics might plead as the occasion of new troubles, while there were undoubted abuses in the Church which called for reform. But the dangers of heresy itself could not be overlooked; and if stable government was to be attained under the reconciliation with Rome, it must cost many lives yet.

Embassy to Rome.

In February an embassy was despatched to Pope Julius III., to intimate officially that the reconciliation had been achieved in Parliament. The ambassadors sent were Bishop Thirlby, Anthony Browne (Viscount Montague), and Sir Edward Carne, representing the Church, the nobility, and the people. But they had not gone far before news reached them that Julius III. was dead; and they spent so much time in France, and afterwards in the north of Italy, that not only was a new pope, Marcellus II., elected, but, as he happened to die in three weeks, on April 30, yet another papal election had taken place, and Paul IV. was pope when the embassy reached Rome. Of this embassy more remains to be said hereafter. As to the two papal elections, what most interests us here is, that Pole was again spoken of at both conclaves as well worthy to occupy St. Peter's chair; and on the second occasion, both Queen Mary and Henry II. of France would have used their influence on his behalf, but they were too far off. Meanwhile Mary had formed a resolution in her own mind, which she communicated to her Council on March 28, to give back again to the Church such possessions as the Crown had unlawfully taken from it in time of schism; and she charged them to consult with Cardinal Pole, as legate, as to the best means of giving effect to her purpose. The titles of other owners, of course, were not to be disturbed; but Mary and Philip agreed that Church lands should no longer be detained by the Crown.

AUTHORITIES.—*Chronicle of Jane and Mary; Grey Friars' Chronicle*, Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, and Machyn's *Diary*; Noailles; *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. For Philip's coming see *English Historical Review*, vii. 253-280. For what concerns Cardinal Pole see authorities in *Dict. of National Biography*; Lords' and Commons' Journals; Heylin; Collier; Burnet, pt. iii. bk. v.

nos. 33, 34; Strype's *Cranmer*, nos. 80, 81; Ridley's *Works* (Parker Soc.) and his *Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper*, edited by Dr. Moule (now Bishop of Durham) with biographical introduction. Foxe, of course, is the great authority on the Marian persecution, but, as stated in the text, must be read with caution; see corrections of his narrative in Chester's *John Rogers*. Foxe is also the authority for Alfonso à Castro's sermon (vi. 704, Cattley's ed.), and for Mary's declaration to the Council of her determination to give back lands to the Church (vii. 34); on which last point compare Venetian Calendar, vi. pt. i. 154.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PROGRESS OF PERSECUTION

John Rogers was the first of a great company of nearly three hundred martyrs who were burned in England in the three and a-half remaining years of Queen Mary's reign. It is impossible to dwell on individual cases, but one or two others require a few words of notice, especially among those earliest victims. Robert Ferrar, late Bishop of St. David's, after being examined by Gardiner and his fellow-commissioners and condemned, was sent down to Carmarthen, the chief town of his diocese, where he was burned on March 30. Originally an Austin friar at Oxford, he had been one of those suspected of heresy in old days at the time of Garrett's escape. Afterwards he had been befriended by Bishop Barlow, his predecessor at St. David's. He was promoted to that bishopric by the Protector Somerset, but even in Edward's days he had no easy time of it, for his own canons of Carmarthen, two of whom afterwards became Elizabethan bishops, raised up factious complaints against him. He was one of the few bishops who, in Hooper's opinion, entertained right views on the Eucharist; and in other things, certainly, he was constant to his principles. For he declined positively to accept reconciliation with Rome, on the ground that he had taken oath, both to Henry VIII. and to Edward VI., never to admit papal jurisdiction in England. He was also a married man; but, as he told the commissioners, he had violated no oath in that, for the vow he took was only to live chaste, not to live single.

Martyrdoms: Bishop Ferrar.

Another notable victim, who suffered three months later, was John Bradford. He, too, was of Edwardine promotion, and was firmer on some points than Bishop Ferrar, whom he persuaded in the King's Bench prison to revoke a promise he had made to receive the sacrament in one kind at Easter. It was Bradford's pen, apparently, that drew up the declaration of the imprisoned preachers on May 8, 1554. A true child of the new age, he had once been too much devoted to the things of this world, and, serving as paymaster under Sir John Harington, Henry VIII.'s treasurer of camps and buildings at Boulogne, had been guilty to no small extent of that peculation which was rife among officials and courtiers. Just after Edward's accession, however, he became a student of law in the Temple, and was deeply impressed by a sermon of Latimer's urging "restitution of things falsely gotten." He consulted Latimer through the medium of a friend, and by instalments, as it was in his power, he at length made good the whole amount embezzled, fearing, all the while, lest he should die before he had done so. The task was the more difficult because his master, who did not admire his scrupulousness, withdrew from him an allowance which he had continued to him after leaving his service. He laboured, meanwhile, in publishing translations of Artopæus and Chrysostom, and went to Cambridge to study divinity; where, with less than one year's residence, he obtained the degree of M.A., and not long afterwards a fellowship. He was a disciple and great friend of Bucer. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Ridley, was made a prebendary of St. Paul's, and was one of the six royal chaplains appointed by Edward VI. in 1551. It was he who, after Edward's death, protected Bourne the preacher at Paul's Cross (since made Bishop of Bath) from the violence of the people. But the people being friendly to Bradford, it was conceived that he had incited them in the first place, and he was committed to the Tower, from which he was afterwards removed to other prisons. His honesty, however, told upon his very gaolers, one of whom allowed him once to leave his prison to visit a sick man, on his promise to return at night. He was also allowed, when in the King's Bench prison, to communicate freely with Laurence Saunders, who was confined in the

John Bradford.

adjoining prison of the Marshalsea, on ground that lay at the back of both prisons.

Sentence of excommunication, as already stated, was given against him by the commissioners on January 30; on which he was delivered to the sheriff, and placed first in the Clink and afterwards in the Counter in the Poultry. But it was supposed that he could be talked over to conformity, and on February 4 Bishop Bonner, having gone to the Counter to degrade Dr. Taylor, afterwards called for Bradford and put off his cap when he appeared, reaching out his hand to him in a most friendly manner; for the bishop was informed that he desired a conference. This, however, Bradford declared that he had not sought, and after a few words the bishop left him. He told others that he would not ask for such a favour, as he was "most certain" of the doctrine he had taught. He was willing to confer with any one if the bishop proposed it, but for himself he did not desire it, as it would merely defer that which must come at last. The climax, however, was deferred, evidently in the hope of saving so sincere a man from the execution of the law. He was visited in prison by a gentleman of the lord chancellor, by a chaplain of Bishop Bonner, by an old acquaintance, by Archdeacon Harpsfield of London, by Archbishop Heath of York, and Bishop Day of Chichester, by Alfonso à Castro and another Spanish friar, with whom he conversed in Latin; then by Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, who came to him twice, by Dr. Pendleton, and by others besides—all desiring either to offer their services to procure his pardon, or by conference to set right his theology. But all these kindly efforts were unavailing. He was at last burned at Smithfield along with one other victim, on July 1; and there can be little doubt that his heroism animated many others to defy the revived heresy laws.

Yet, as we have seen in one case, there were heretics whose acts—if the opinions which prompted the acts had not been regarded as the greater evil—would have deserved very severe punishment indeed, even in days like our own. Another example of the way these things were looked at may be seen in a case where the culprit was unhappily executed before his heresy could be brought before a spiritual tribunal. On April 26 three men were hanged at Charing Cross "for

robbing of certain Spaniards of treasure of gold out of the abbey of Westminster." One of them was John Tooley, citizen and poulterer of London; and while the halter was about his neck he desired the people to pray for him. He confessed that he had stolen and robbed from covetousness, just as "the Bishop of Rome," he observed, "did sell his masses and trentals for covetousness." And he added, with great appearance of anger, "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy and from contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord, deliver us." He was quoting from Henry VIII.'s litany, which he read from a printed book, and he told his audience that he hoped to be saved by Christ's Passion, not by masses or trentals, images or saints, which were but the idolatry and superstition of Rome. Two days later the Council took notice of the case in a letter to Bishop Bonner, and desired him to inquire into it. The bishop, accordingly, had a citation affixed to the door of St. Paul's Cathedral, depositions were taken, and when the facts were fully authenticated the dead man was excommunicated. His body was then dug up and burned on June 4.

A criminal heretic.

On the 10th of the same month seven men were delivered out of Newgate to be taken into Essex and Suffolk to be burned; and one of these was Thomas Haukes, who suffered at Coggeshall. He was a handsome young gentleman, very well read in Scripture, who had been in the service of the Earl of Oxford, but had left it after Mary's accession rather than conform to the queen's religion. A child was then born to him, whom he left unbaptized for three weeks rather than have the rite done "after the papistical manner"; for which being brought before his old master, the earl very naturally sent him up to Bishop Bonner. How the bishop received him, and with what gentle persuasions he tried to overcome his objections to Church ceremonies, appears in a report of the dialogue written by himself, which can be read in Foxe; and really the account both of that and of further proceedings is highly creditable to the bishop's patience. For Bonner kept him for more than a week in his house at Fulham, and not only had frequent interviews with him himself, but caused him to be visited by Archdeacon Harpsfield,

Thomas Haukes.

by old Bishop Bird, who, though deprived of his See of Chester for marriage, had conformed, and by Dr. Feckenham and Dr. Chedsey. But all would not do, and on July 1, 1554, the bishop ordered him into confinement at the Gatehouse. On September 3 he called him up again for examination; but it was only in February 1555, after the Heresy Acts had been revived, that he received his final sentence, and even then he was spared for four months longer. He was resolute, and before his death friends who seemed to covet the like martyrdom obtained from him a promise that if the flames were endurable he would show it by lifting up his hands in the midst of them. He did so, and clapped his hands three times together before he expired.

Some less marked cases, moreover, present features that should be noticed. Along with Haukes five other heretics of Essex and Suffolk were tried in February before Bishop Bonner sitting with some members of the Council and the lord mayor and sheriffs at St. Paul's. Their names were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Laurence, and Hunter. These also received sentence, and were despatched into the country to be burned in different places; but of the five it is needful only to speak of two. Thomas Tomkins, a pious weaver, is represented in Foxe's pages as a special example of Bonner's cruelty. We are told the bishop beat him about the face till it swelled, then caused his beard to be shaven against his will, and finally held his hand over a burning taper "to try his constancy." Of these matters we do not quite know all the details; but it should be remarked that Bonner kept the man more than half a year with him "in prison," as Foxe says—that is, in his own palace at Fulham, set him to work for him as a haymaker in July, and, whatever may be the case about the beating and the shaving, used strong persuasions with him to save him from a fate on which he appeared to be rushing. As to the story of the candle, we have a contemporary report in a letter of Renard to the emperor which puts the matter very differently. Bonner asked Tomkins if he thought he could endure the fire, and Tomkins himself held his hand over the flame without flinching. He was not one to be appalled, and having received his sentence he was burned in Smithfield on March 16.

Thomas Tomkins.

William Pygot, a butcher, was burned at Braintree on the 28th of that month; but his bones were carried about the country afterwards and shown as relics, to the annoyance of the Council, who on May 3 issued an order for the apprehension of two men who had so exhibited them for the encouragement of others to persevere in heresy. The changes made in religion under Edward had been upheld long enough to have taken pretty firm root in some places, and it was found in June that four parishes in Essex still used the English service. But to prevent that fire spreading farther, a proclamation was issued the same month against the importation from abroad of the works of a number of well-known English and foreign heretics, and for the suppression of the English service-books promulgated in the last reign.

William Pygot's bones shown as relics.

It may be presumed that the ambassadors despatched to Rome to intimate the reconciliation of the kingdom had private instructions sent after them to make known at the Vatican the intention which the queen had intimated to her Council on March 28 to restore the Church lands in the possession of the Crown. The statement, indeed, is made, and may be true, that the new pope, Paul IV., after receiving the embassy, expressed himself in private conferences dissatisfied that restitution had not already been made of such property, the retention of which, he said, would be dangerous to the souls of its possessors. But Mary herself required no urging in this matter, and the Holy See had already given assurance to the grantees of Church lands that they would not be interfered with. The pope, however, while he highly approved of all that had been done in England, gave the ambassadors three bulls for promulgation there, one of which was rather calculated to renew anxieties that had been allayed, by declaring at least the abstract principle that alienations of Church property were invalid in the eyes of the Church. The other two were—the first, the renewal of a jubilee published by Julius III. on the first news of the reconciliation, and the second, for the erection of Ireland into a kingdom, a thing which had been done already by Henry VIII., but required, it was conceived, the sanction of the Church to give it validity; for, as the pope had originally given the

The embassy to Rome.

"lordship" of Ireland to Henry II., the kings of England could not take more than he gave without usurpation.

The ambassadors (except Carne, who was left resident at Rome) returned to England with these three bulls among others, and their contents were notified in September. The one about alienations of Church property was certainly ill advised, whatever it meant. It seems, indeed, to have been a general bull, not applying to England specially; but on Pole's remonstrance, the pope felt it necessary to issue another expressly exempting England from its operation.

Meanwhile some bright prospects had been clouded. The queen's hope of issue had turned out a delusion. Pole had gone to Calais in May to initiate peace conferences between Spain and France, but these proved futile; and the continuance of war was the more uncomfortable as the new pope's sympathies were by no means with the Spaniards. At the end of August Philip took leave of Mary and crossed to Brussels, where, on October 25, his father resigned to him the government of the Low Countries. Before leaving he desired the Council in his absence to do nothing without reference to Cardinal Pole, who, however, only consented to receive reports of their proceedings, and declined to interfere himself in secular business, except where his judgment might be desired in cases of dispute.

And now the persecution was seeking out its highest victims. Since the disputation at Oxford in April 1554 Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer had remained prisoners there, and nothing further had been done about them (in England, at least) till September of this year 1555. A scholastic disputation in a realm which had not yet been reconciled to Rome was not a sufficient ground for further action. But now a citation was first served on Cranmer on September 7 to appear at Rome, personally or by proxy, within eighty days, to answer matters which should be laid against him by the king and queen. He was not expected, however, either to go himself or to send any one thither; for Cardinal du Puy (*de Puteo* in Latin), who had the pope's commission to hear the case, had appointed as his sub-delegate in England Dr. Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, and Cranmer was to appear before him at St. Mary's Church,

Cranmer cited to Rome.

Oxford, on the 12th. On that day the court was opened for his trial. Bishop Brooks was seated on a scaffold raised over the high altar, the king and queen's proctors, Drs. Martin and Story, having lower seats on either side of him. Cranmer bowed to each of the proctors, but not to the bishop, as he had sworn to Henry VIII. never to admit papal authority in England, which he considered to be opposed alike to divine and to human law. He said the king of a realm was head of the Church in it, and he did not shrink from the conclusion pressed upon him that in that case Nero, who put St. Peter to death, was head of the Church at Rome—nay, that the Turk was head of the Church in Turkey; but under protestation he made answer to the royal proctors on sixteen articles objected to him. These contained charges which, in clerical language, amounted to adultery, perjury, and heresy—adultery, not only as having been a married priest, but, what was more shocking, having a second wife when archbishop; perjury for having broken his vow to the pope; and heresy for denying the flesh and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament. The mere facts, for the most part, did not admit of dispute, but he denied that they bore the character assigned to them. His defence, however, was certainly weak as regards the oath he had taken to the pope, which he had really made a falsehood by his protestation beforehand.

His trial at Oxford.

Eight witnesses besides himself were called to answer the sixteen articles against him. He objected to their testimony being received on the ground that they were all perjured, inasmuch as they had sworn to royal supremacy and had since admitted the Roman pontiff's authority. But as he had no other objection to allege, their testimony was taken, though the case for the prosecution might very well have rested on his own confessions. Bishop Brooks, however, had no commission to pronounce sentence, and sent a certified report of the whole process to Rome; while Cranmer, on his part, wrote a striking but laboured appeal to Queen Mary in justification of the ground that he had taken up in ignoring the authority of the court. "Alas!" he wrote, "it cannot but grieve the heart of any natural subject, to be accused of the king and queen of his own realm, and specially before an outward judge,

or by authority coming from any person out of this realm; where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, shall complain, and require justice at a stranger's hands against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms against their own subjects, but they must seek it at a stranger's hands in a strange land!" This is the most powerful passage in the letter, which labours afterwards to prove that the pope's laws and the laws of the land are hopelessly at variance, and that loyalty to both is an impossibility. It was certainly a curious plea to be urged by one already condemned by the laws of the land as a traitor, whose life would have been forfeited on that ground but that he was treated as a spiritual man awaiting sentence on the graver charge of heresy. Yet there was real force in the words. The temporal sovereign must have spiritual power also; and for all Mary's attempt to revive the old theory of a supreme universal bishop governing the whole spiritual world from Rome, with a right even to depose disobedient princes, that theory had already received a shock from which it could not possibly recover.

It was not likely that Queen Mary would pay high regard to such a remonstrance from a condemned criminal, who likewise ventured to tell her that the oath of obedience to the pope which she had taken at her coronation was inconsistent with that which she had sworn at the same time to maintain the laws and liberties of the realm. The queen handed his letter to Cardinal Pole, who answered it at great length.

As regards Cranmer's two fellow-prisoners, Latimer and Ridley, on September 28 Cardinal Pole sent three bishops to Oxford to examine and, if possible, to reconcile them to the Church; or else to hand them over to the secular arm. These bishops were—White of Lincoln, Brooks of Gloucester, and Holyman of Bristol; and on the 30th Latimer and Ridley were brought before them in the Divinity School. The examination of Ridley was taken first, doubtless because he was a D.D. (which Latimer, indeed, is believed to have been also, though they did not recognise him as such); and by a mistake of the bailiff, which Bishop White regretted, the aged Latimer, who had a sore back, was

Trial of Ridley and Latimer.

left "gazing upon the cold walls" until Ridley was dismissed for the day into the custody of the mayor of Oxford. This precedence of Ridley as a doctor was marked again on the second day by the removal of the "carpet" or table-cloth which lay on the table before him when Latimer was to take his place. Briefly, the result of their examinations was that, notwithstanding very gentle exhortations from Bishop White, they both refused to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, while both acknowledged a true Catholic Church within which alone was salvation. Both persisted in their former denial of transubstantiation, and refused to acknowledge the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice. Sentence was accordingly pronounced on each successively on October 1. Latimer only demanded if he might not appeal "to the next general council which shall be truly called in God's name"; to which Bishop White replied that he had no objection, but it would be a long time before such an assembly as Latimer intended could be convoked.

On the 16th they were both brought to the stake, to which they were first fastened by a chain of iron made to go round the middle of both. Ridley's brother brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck; after which he did the same for Latimer. "Be of good comfort," the latter said to his fellow; "we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Latimer died first, apparently with little pain; but Ridley lingered for some time till the explosion of the gunpowder ended his sufferings. Cranmer witnessed, from a tower on the top of his prison, the execution of his friends, and complained that Ridley's sufferings had been prolonged by mismanagement.

They are burned.

A new Parliament assembled at Westminster on October 21, and the Convocation of Canterbury met next day at St. Paul's. An urgent cause for both these meetings was the queen's need of money, increased, of course, by the self-denying policy she had in view of restoring abbey lands. The clergy voted a large subsidy, and there was some talk in Convocation about a revision of canons, when that body was merged in a national synod, convoked by the legate, which met in November. At the beginning of

Parliament and Convocation.

these meetings Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, was labouring with mortal illness, but his energy in setting forth the queen's necessities at the opening of Parliament seemed to triumph over all infirmities. Only for two days, however, was he able to take his place in the House of Lords; and though it was partly on his account that the legatine synod was convened at the Chapel Royal at Westminster on November 4 (for both he and Pole were lodged in the royal palace), he died on the 12th of the month.

Death of Gardiner.

His loss was severely felt. Seditious tracts had kept pouring from the press in spite of the proclamation of June, and just at this time one appeared entitled "A Warning for England," particularly calculated to promote disloyalty. It described how the Spaniards, by intrigue, had taken the whole government of Naples into their hands and imposed an oppressive tariff on the inhabitants. It suggested that the queen herself would be got rid of by foul play, now that it was seen she would be childless, in order that Philip might marry a younger woman—or at least that the emperor would get him to divorce her and marry the King of Portugal's daughter, to whom he was before contracted. It went on to insinuate, in spite of explanations given by the preachers, that the pope's late bull for the excommunication of holders of Church property was meant specially to apply to England, and that the bishops were only waiting their time to press it home, when the gentry would either have to restore the abbey lands or be burned as heretics. This dangerous tract was said to have been printed at Strassburg. The lord mayor was ordered to make diligent search as to its origin and suppress all copies. The House of Commons at the same time showed itself intractable and was not easily got to vote a subsidy. The Lords brought in a bill to punish those who escaped beyond sea without licence; but this appears to have been lost in the Commons. And it was in the Commons that the most sturdy opposition was raised to the queen's policy with regard to first-fruits and tenths, which she would fain have given back to Rome. A bill for this object, indeed, was set aside by the Lords, and was replaced by a new one to bestow them on the laity. But after a stormy career in the Lower House, it was ultimately passed in a very much altered

A disloyal tract.

form by a majority of 193 to 126, viz. as a bill for the total extinction of first-fruits, and for the disposal, at the queen's pleasure, only of such impropriate livings and such tenths as actually remained in her hands.

St. Andrew's Day, November 30, being the anniversary of the great reconciliation, was kept this year with much solemnity, the intention being to have an annual celebration of the event for ever after. Pole's legatine synod, which met on December 4, among its other business decreed this commemoration. It continued its sittings at intervals into the February following, meeting first at Westminster, then at St. Paul's, and afterwards at Lambeth. Its aim was to effect a reform of Church government and put an end to past anarchy. *The Institution of a Christian Man*—the "Bishops' Book" of Henry VIII.'s time—was examined; preparations were made for a new English version of the New Testament, which raised again the old question of phraseology in many of the expressions; the compilation of a new book of homilies was entrusted to Dr. Watson and the queen's secretary, Boxall; and a Catechism, translated from one composed in Spanish by Cardinal Carranza, was authorised for use in England. But the main work of the synod was the enactment of a new code of constitutions, which was published on February 10, under the title *Reformatio Angliæ ex decretis Reginaldi Poli.* The legatine synod.

By the end of the year 1555 no less than 75 martyrs are known to have suffered in different parts of England. The last was John Philpot, sometime Archdeacon of Winchester, who was burned in Smithfield on December 18. His case was a special one, and the story of his numerous examinations as written by himself is so voluminous that it is impossible to do more than glance at it. He was not one, however, to complain of intolerance, and he did not; for he thoroughly approved of the burning of Joan Bocher, and not only once spat upon an Arian but wrote a tract to justify his doing so, which was published after his death. He had been of the forward party during the last reign, and of course, at Winchester, had been a particular source of trouble to Bishop Gardiner. But he was not only a man of birth and breeding (his father being a Martyrdom of John Philpot.

Knight of the Bath), but was devoted to learning, a good Hebrew scholar, and a leader of the new scriptural school; a travelled man, too, who had been in Italy and had seen the world. He had been imprisoned a year and a-half when examined on October 2 before a set of royal commissioners. His offence apparently had been that by his vehemence in the Convocation of 1554 he had abused the queen's licence to every one to speak his mind freely. When he appeared before the commissioners one of them said he looked well fed; to which he replied that it was natural after being stalled up eighteen months. He was committed to the charge of Bishop Bonner, to whose jurisdiction he objected that he was not his ordinary, though the Convocation house was certainly in Bonner's diocese. He was confined in the bishop's coal-house, but he acknowledged repeatedly that Bonner treated him with much kindness and consideration. There was, in fact, a very great desire to save from the flames a man of so much mark. But he steadfastly declined to be reconciled to the Church of Rome unless Bonner could show him from Scripture that it was the true Catholic Church; and he considered that the clergy deceived the people, both as to the Church and the sacrament. He met his fate bravely as one bound to suffer by the decree of an authority which he did not recognise.

On January 1, 1556, Heath, Archbishop of York, was made lord chancellor. The body of his predecessor, Bishop Gardiner, still lay in St. Mary Overy's Church, Southwark, to which it had been removed in November, a week after his death, and was only removed again on February 24 for the first stage of a long and stately journey to Winchester, where it was finally buried in his cathedral. Meanwhile, at Rome, the eighty days allowed to Cranmer having expired, the process against him in England was reported by Cardinal du Puy to a consistory on November 29; and after the archbishop had been solemnly cited to appear, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by the pope himself on December 4. One week later the pope "provided" Cardinal Pole to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and on the 14th he addressed a brief executorial to the king and queen notifying the

Sentence against Cranmer at Rome.

sentence against Cranmer. A papal commission was issued to Bonner and Thirlby to degrade him; and on February 13 they went down to Oxford for the purpose.

He was not at that time in prison. Shortly after the burning of Latimer and Ridley a sister of Cranmer's had urged Cardinal Pole to take opinions whether it was compatible with canon law to put an archbishop and primate to death; and he was removed from Bocardo to the house of the Dean of Christ Church, where, though still in custody, he was allowed delicate fare, and was free to take exercise in the grounds and on the bowling-green. He had not been much moved by the exhortations of De Soto, the Spanish friar sent to him in Bocardo; but here he had much conference with another Spanish friar in high esteem at court, who was persuaded to come to him for the first time on December 31. This was Friar Garcia, a rising theologian of great ability, perhaps already nominated to the post of regius professor of divinity at Oxford, which he filled this year on the resignation of Dr. Smith. In their communications, if truly reported, Cranmer was obliged to concede that there was more authority to be found in the writings of the Fathers than he had been willing to admit for prayers for the dead, for purgatory, and even for papal supremacy itself. He wavered, and near the end of January was on the point of recanting. He even attended mass, sang dirges, and held a candle on Candlemas Day. But he wore out his keeper's patience by putting off his recantation. However, he wrote a declaration to the effect that since papal authority had been admitted by the king, queen, and parliament, he acknowledged the pope to be supreme head of the Church of England as far as the laws of God and the kingdom permitted. This confession a few days later he desired to modify by another writing which has not been preserved; but he afterwards wrote and signed a third, the second of his published *Recantations*, declaring simply his submission to the Catholic Church and to the pope as its supreme head, and also to the king and queen and their laws. Thus far had he committed himself when, on February 14, he was brought before Bonner and Thirlby in Christchurch to be degraded. When their commission was read he protested against the statement that

His submissions.

he had had a fair trial at Rome as "shameless lying," for he had been all the while in custody and could never have counsel or advocate at home. He forgot, however, that, until his two submissions, he had all along repudiated papal authority, whether at Rome or in England, and that sentence could not but be passed upon him for contumacy.

His degradation.

The process of degradation was a curious one. He was made to put on vile canvas clothing resembling the vestments of the different orders, with a mitre and pall likewise of canvas; and a crosier was put in his hand. The causes for degrading him were declared by Bonner, not without some interruptions and protests from himself. The crosier was taken from him, though he tried to hold it fast, and he drew from his sleeve an appeal from the pope's judgment to that of the next general council — a document which he had got a lawyer secretly to prepare for him while he was in prison. Thirlby told him this could not be admitted, as they were commissioned to proceed *omni appellatione remotâ*. Cranmer declared that this was unjust, as the cause lay between him and the pope; on which Thirlby received the appeal, saying, "Well, if it may be admitted it shall."

Thirlby was moved to tears, for Cranmer had been of old his personal friend and patron, and he now implored him to consider his state, promising to be a suitor for his pardon. But Cranmer bade him be of good cheer. The next step was the removal of the pall, at which Cranmer again remonstrated. "Which of you," said he, "hath a pall to take away my pall?" They were, however, papal delegates, and thus fully competent. They stripped him successively, with words and ceremonies prescribed in the papal bull, of the vestments of an archbishop, priest, deacon, and subdeacon, and degraded him even from the minor orders of acolyte, exorcist, reader, and doorkeeper. A barber clipped all the hair off his head, Bonner himself having previously scraped the tips of his fingers to deprive him of the power to bless and sanctify. In the end he was handed over to the secular magistrate, whom Bonner requested (if he followed the prescribed form, which was surely a fearful mockery) not to expose "the miserable man" to any danger of death or mutilation.

Being now in Bocardo once more, further declarations were extorted from him, but he showed great reluctance to enlarge the actual extent of his concessions. In his third submission he again put royal authority first, and declared his willingness to submit to all the king's and queen's laws "as well concerning the pope's supremacy as others." His fourth, which is distinctly dated February 16, declares that he believes in all articles of the faith as held by the Catholic Church from the beginning, especially as to the sacraments. These two documents were both written by his own hand and shown by him to Bonner. Then news arrived in Oxford that he was to be burned on March 7, a writ for his execution having been issued on February 24. On this he begged Friar Garcia not to desert him. The result was that in the presence of Garcia and one Henry Sydall he signed a fifth submission, in Latin this time, in which, after denouncing the heresies of Luther and Zwingli, he made more explicit declarations touching the pope and the sacraments. With this he wrote to Pole begging for a further respite that he might give the world more perfect evidence of his repentance. This request the queen readily entertained, believing that so notable an example of a penitent convert would do much to arrest the spread of heresy. On March 18 a sixth submission (also in Latin) was obtained from him—a much more lengthy composition than the others, expressing the deepest contrition for having persecuted the Church, abused his office, stripped Christ of his honour and the realm of its faith, but taking comfort from the example of the penitent thief upon the Cross, while he acknowledged himself unworthy of all favour and pity as having been the cause of Henry VIII.'s divorce. For these things he besought pardon of the pope and of the king and queen, but especially from God.

His further submissions.

It was, no doubt, his attempt to strengthen himself by an appeal to a general council that had caused him to be pressed for four further declarations of conformity. But all that the unfortunate man could concede was evidently in the way of submission to authority. His own mind had got no nearer to a real belief in transubstantiation, though his old favourite doctrine of royal supremacy was rather

stultified now under sovereigns who maintained papal jurisdiction. He seemed, however, constant to his last profession when, on March 20, Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, visited him to ascertain his state of mind. Next day he was to die, and Dr. Cole was to preach at his burning. The morning was wet, and Cole preached inside St. Mary's Church, where Cranmer was placed on a platform opposite to him. That very morning he had renewed a request for the prayers of some Oxford colleges after his death, and few could have doubted the state of mind in which he was going to meet his fate. Both before and after the sermon he knelt and prayed fervently, with tokens of deep grief and shame, which moved the spectators to pity. After the sermon he was called on to address the people; and it was expected that he would read from a manuscript a seventh and final recantation.

He told the audience that one thing specially grieved his conscience which he would presently declare. He poured forth a prayer to the Trinity, acknowledging that he had sinned most miserably against heaven and earth. But it was not for light sins, he felt, that God became incarnate; and after many deep expressions of penitence he fell on his knees and repeated the Lord's Prayer. It was noted, however, that he omitted the *Ave Maria* which usually followed. On rising he read an exhortation to his audience to avoid worldliness, to obey the king and queen, to cherish mutual love, and, those who had means, to relieve the needy, victuals being then so dear. He passed over, perhaps for brevity, a direction which was on his paper to declare the queen's title to the crown, and said impressively that as he had come to the end of his life, and heaven or hell immediately awaited him, he must declare his faith without dissembling. This he did in words to which no objection could be taken. But now came the point which he said troubled him more than all he had done in his whole life—that he had set forth writings contrary to the truth.

He recants his recantations,

All this, barring the omissions, was in accordance with the programme which he had written out himself beforehand. But what followed was vastly different. The writings which he said were contrary to the truth he declared to be—not, as he had originally written,

his works upon the sacrament, but all the papers he had written or signed since his degradation, which he protested he had written and signed against his own belief, in the hope of saving his life. "And forasmuch," he added, "as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall be first punished; for if I may come to the fire it shall be first burnt." Those about him were taken by surprise, and some reminded him in vain of his recantations. He ran to the stake prepared for him while friars plied him with remonstrances. He was chained to it, and as the fire blazed up he put his right hand into the flames, crying out, "This hand hath offended." Very soon all was over. After a severe mental struggle he had done justice at the last to the real convictions of his heart, and he died with a fortitude that astonished every one, not least those who believed that he died in a bad cause. Men might think him blind; but if so, he was a blind Samson with recovered strength, pulling down the house in which his spectators thought themselves secure. And so his death was edifying, though not in the way expected.

and is burned.

For surely in those last moments of his he was *not* blind. His life had not been that of a hero without weaknesses; and his original cleverness in suggesting to Henry VIII. an appeal to the universities on what even Warham considered a debatable point of canon law, had led him (against his will) to an archiepiscopal throne on which he could not possibly maintain himself without undue subservience. Still he had a conscience, and the fact that he was felt to have one through all his weaknesses was the very thing which had made him really serviceable to his master. Moreover, his position compelled him to face the question as to the true relations between Church and State in a way which no one thinks of in these days of ease; and he was conscious that the old spiritual empire of Rome, dependent, as it had been all along, on the support of Christian princes and nations, could no longer be maintained when one powerful sovereign threw it off. If the act of that sovereign was not an intolerable outrage to the whole of Christendom, compelling other princes to treat Henry as an enemy no less dangerous than the Turk, then it followed that the Church of England must obey the ruler of

England in things both temporal and spiritual. And if so, then it further followed that doctrines which were in the last resort only upheld by papal authority could not be essential doctrines of Christianity.

The real source of perplexity in his mind was that royal supremacy now endeavoured to restore papal supremacy once more. For this cause he, like Latimer, would have appealed to a general council if a real œcumenical council had been any longer possible. But the days when a real general council could vindicate its claim to general obedience were now past. As for the Council of Trent, it had at this time been suspended five years, and was not to meet again for five years more. Nor was it the sort of council to which Cranmer and Latimer had appealed. The German Protestants, after some negotiation, had declined it. England, of course, under Edward VI. would have nothing to say to it. Yet during the fifteen sessions it had held, the articles to which most objections had been raised had been already defined. The Protestant view of justification and every form of Protestant teaching on the subject of the Eucharist had been condemned. But these decisions had practically produced no effect whatever. Opinions remained opinions, and questions questions; and the only thing that came out clearly as a result was that the Council of Trent did not really represent the whole Christian world.

AUTHORITIES.—Foxe; Writings of Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, and Philpot (Parker Soc.); Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii.; Calendar of Venetian State Papers; Tytler; Wilkins; Lives of Cranmer by Strype and Todd, and his *Remains* by Jenkyns; Cranmer's *Recantacyons* (Philobiblon Soc.); Noailles, v. 319; Letter of "J. A." in Strype's *Cranmer*, pp. 551-559.

Wake's *State of the Church*, pp. 496-499, should be consulted touching the Convocation and Synod of 1555; for the facts, though clearly stated by this author at the beginning of the eighteenth century, have been continually misapprehended. Convocation, of course, met as usual in obedience to a writ from the Crown—not, indeed, in this case, directed to the archbishop, who was under attainder, but to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, by whose orders it assembled. It met on October 22. The Lower House presented their prolocutor on the 25th, when the causes of meeting were declared, and on the 30th the subsidy was voted with three petitions. Eight days later the president agreed that the cardinal should be consulted "on the manner, form, and quality of their subsidy." Meanwhile the cardinal, having had licence from the queen to exercise his legatine jurisdiction, had summoned a synod of the whole nation to meet in the King's Chapel; after which, on November 2,

a patent was granted by the queen to protect him and the clergy from any "danger of the laws" such as had occurred in Wolsey's case. Pole then, on the 8th, issued a mandate to Bonner to appoint a day for all the clergy to appear before him, which Bonner determined should be on or before December 2. The old theoretical independence of the Church was restored, and Pole, as legate, had summoned the synod by an authority theoretically superior to that of temporal princes — having obtained, however, the recognition of his legatine authority from the queen beforehand.

CHAPTER XIX

THE POPE'S ESTRANGEMENT

To Mary's great annoyance, her husband still remained abroad. He had indeed many cares; for not only did his father, Charles V., resign to him, as we have seen, in October 1555, the government of the Low Countries, but on January 16 following he also resigned to him the crown of Spain; and from this time the son is known in history as Philip II. Within three weeks he and the emperor, his father, concluded with Henry II. the truce of Vaucelles, and there seemed to be a fair prospect of relief from a war in which England was only in too great danger of being implicated. This truce was made on February 5, 1556, and was to last five years. Unfortunately it was broken before many months were over; nor did Philip return to England for more than a year after. He had his own troubles on the Continent, and Mary had hers at home.

Philip's absence abroad.

Although Pole had been appointed by the pope to succeed Cranmer in the See of Canterbury, and although he was a cardinal, he had hitherto been in deacon's orders only. He was, however, on March 20, ordained a priest in the Greyfriars' Church at Greenwich, where next morning he celebrated mass for the first time. That was the very morning on which Cranmer was burned at Oxford. Next day, which was a Sunday, the 22nd, Pole was consecrated as archbishop by Archbishop Heath, Bishop Bonner, and five other bishops of the southern province. His presence in London was so necessary to the queen that he deputed one of the canons of Canterbury as his proxy, to

Pole's consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury.

be enthroned for him; and the *pallium* was delivered to him in state on Lady Day, the 25th, in the church of St. Mary le Bow, a peculiar of his See. There, in ready compliance with a petition presented to him by the parishioners when he entered the church, although he had already appointed some one else to preach the sermon, he delivered *extempore* an appropriate address which seems greatly to have impressed the audience by its grace and fluency.

Easter now approached, for it fell this year on April 5. The queen's "maunday," and her other charities at this time, were most elaborate and touching; and whatever we may think of the blessing of cramp-rings and touching for the king's evil, her conduct showed the most genuine sympathy with the poor and suffering when she herself must have been enduring great mental anxiety. For not only was she left without the support of a not too loving husband, while malicious rumours exaggerated their feelings of estrangement, but a most alarming conspiracy had been lately discovered, for which twelve fugitives were denounced as traitors on Easter Eve, April 4. The deepest secrets of the plot were only known to a select few; but the plan, in which even official persons were engaged, had been to set fire to different parts of London, rob the exchequer and carry off the booty in some of the queen's own ships which lay in the river. Nay, besides this, it was purposed to deliver up the Isle of Wight to the French, carry off the queen herself with the aid of French ships and money, and set up her sister Elizabeth as sovereign in her place, marrying her to the Earl of Devonshire—that unstable Edward Courtenay, now away in Italy, where he died in September, whose royal descent and ambition were again expected to cancel in his own heart all gratitude to his benefactress Mary.

The Dudley conspiracy.

The poor queen had all along been actuated by the best possible of motives; and it must be remembered, even as regards the sad persecution which has left so deep a stain upon her memory, that heresy and treason had walked continually hand in hand. She had reigned nearly a year and a half before reviving the heresy laws; and perhaps, if she had not married Philip, she might have felt no need to revive them. But her marriage was only the principal matter in which her zeal outran

discretion; for she was painfully deficient in that worldly wisdom which enables men to realise the strength and weakness of their own position, and she did not see how official corruption and demoralisation all round her were undermining the ground on which she stood. She would fain have reversed a great social and ecclesiastical revolution, which, aided though it was by strong and sincere convictions on the part of many, had undoubtedly been brought about in the first instance by immoral and degrading agencies; but she failed to see how many influences, good and evil, concurred to prevent the counter-revolution which she was now attempting. Her marriage, too, had only strengthened the opposition to it by involving the country in the quarrels of Continental princes. It had brought about a war of diplomacy and intrigue within her own kingdom; and though the French, by the truce of Vaucelles, were now nominally at peace with her husband, they were still open to overtures from English traitors whose assistance would be useful in the not improbable event of some future rupture.

This conspiracy is associated with the name of Sir Henry Dudley, a relation of the late Duke of Northumberland, who had gone to France and made overtures to Henry II. before the conclusion of the truce. His design did not receive immediate encouragement, but he was allowed an asylum till the time should be propitious. By and by several others joined him and were received openly at the court of France, while plausible answers were given to the English ambassador Wotton, who demanded their surrender. Relations with France continued to be hollow for a year and more, while at home the examination and punishment of conspirators divided attention with the burning of heretics. Next year a new conspiracy was hatched at Paris, and Sir Thomas Stafford, a grandson of Henry VIII.'s victim Buckingham, sailed with two vessels from the mouth of the Seine to surprise Scarborough Castle. He published proclamations in the old style against the Spaniards, but was soon captured, and met with the fate which he deserved. What wonder that just after this France was openly declared an enemy both of the king and queen?

Meanwhile a beginning had been made with Mary's plans

for the restoration of the monastic system. Already, in April 1555, a company of Grey Friars were placed again in their old house at Greenwich. At Easter 1556 the church of St. Bartholomew the Great in Smithfield "was set up with Black Friars." In November following Westminster became a monastery once more, with Dr. Feckenham as abbot; nuns were again introduced at Sion, and Carthusians reappeared at Sheen. In June there had also been instituted in London a system of processions in every church, in which children with their parents were compelled to join under a penalty of one shilling; but this attempt at coercion proved a failure, as might have been expected. Another failure occurred next year in the attempt to restore the grand old Benedictine abbey of Glastonbury; but that was simply for want of funds.

Restoration of monasteries.

As to this monastic revival a remarkable suggestion, it is said, came from abroad, but was not followed up. From some Italian MS., not known in our day, Burnet learned that Ignatius Loyola, who died at Rome this year (1556) on July 31, tried to persuade Cardinal Pole to fill the old houses with men of his order, as Benedictine monasticism was no longer a help but rather a hindrance to the Church in the warfare now before it. The fact seems probable enough. The new order of the Jesuits had been started in 1540, and it is certain that Pole took much interest in it from the beginning. But all that appears from the published correspondence of Pole and Loyola is that Loyola had invited Pole to send young men from England to Rome to be educated under him. And it is pretty certain that Pole did not act on the suggestion.

Suggestions of Loyola.

Pole, however, appointed visitors for each of the two universities, for each of them had made him chancellor; and though we cannot relate in detail the story of these visitations, we must not pass over some unpleasant acts done in both places, repugnant to the better feeling of modern times. In January 1557, at the request of the University of Cambridge, sentence was given, after a formal investigation, that the bodies of Bucer and Fagius should be exhumed as unworthy to lie in consecrated ground. This sentence was executed on February 6, and the two bodies, with the works

of the dead heretics, were burned in the market-place. Even worse was done at Oxford, where the body of Peter Martyr's wife was exhumed and thrown upon a dunghill.

Philip only returned from the Continent in March 1557, and his main object in returning then was to get England committed to the war against France which was now forced upon Spain. This, of course, was precisely the thing which Gardiner had so studiously endeavoured to avert by the terms of the marriage treaty. But events would have been too strong for Gardiner, even if he had been now alive. France was an active enemy of England already — all the worse because she was not an open one—and Philip had an easy task. Yet, strange to say, the course into which England was now forced exposed Mary, after all her zeal and self-denial in the cause of religion, to a rebuke and discouragement far worse than heretics or conspirators could have inflicted, at the hands of the Holy Father himself! Such was actually the case; and it is to Paul IV., perhaps, as much as to any one else, that the triumph of the Reformation in England was ultimately due.

Cardinal Caraffa, as Pope Paul was named before he was raised to the papacy, was really an earnest man, and his election in 1555, like that of his short-lived predecessor Marcellus, was due to a feeling which had now taken possession of the sacred college itself that the Church required purification at headquarters. It seemed a hopeful sign for the papacy. Cardinal Caraffa, abstemious in his own life, had been a most zealous Church reformer, and had instituted, even before he became cardinal, the Theatine Order of monks. But being a fiery, passionate Neapolitan, who had a bad opinion of Charles V. and hated Spain all his life—not without considerable justification for these sentiments — he was particularly anxious to free the Holy See from the constant intimidation to which it was subjected by the fact that the Spaniards had possession of Naples. An old man of eighty, he recalled the days before Ferdinand of Aragon had seized upon his country; and he longed to restore its independence. As a Churchman, besides, he resented the indignities inflicted by Charles V. upon the papal See—indignities rendered all the more intolerable by a

Character of Paul IV.

cold conventional respect and pretence of obedience. And so he had sided with France in the war against Charles. He was even disappointed with the truce of Vaucelles. His dislike and suspicion of the emperor were mingled with undue contempt, alike for him and for his son Philip, who was King of Naples as well as of England and of Spain; and in the course of the summer of 1556 he was involved in war with both, and France was committed to take his part against them.

Unfortunately, he did not see the signs of the times. He would fain have raised the papacy again to the high ideal of past ages, made it the supreme judge of right and wrong, excommunicating and depriving of their kingdoms sovereigns who disobeyed. A body of wise as well as upright councillors would have been necessary to render possible even a slight approach to this ideal; but Paul was impatient of counsel and was not to be reasoned with where he had made up his mind. The consequence was that, in September, while his enemy Charles was resigning the empire and preparing to sail for Spain, to spend the brief remainder of his life in retirement, the Romans were terrified by the sound of Spanish guns at Anagni, while the Duke of Alva had encircled their city from the mountains to the sea. A truce for a while, however, was happily convenient for both sides, and was arranged with Alva by Cardinal Caraffa, the pope's nephew.

It was in such a condition of affairs that Henry II. of France, now committed to a war on the pope's behalf against Philip as King of Spain, kept continually promoting insurrection against Philip as King of England. Of course, in circumstances such as these, it soon became impossible for England to preserve her old neutrality. Cardinal Pole did his utmost for this end, and when Philip returned to England retired to his See at Canterbury, as it was unbecoming that the pope's legate should appear at the court of the pope's enemy. He only paid him a personal visit privately; and it is hard to say how he could have borne himself more judiciously in the perplexing circumstances in which he found himself. But the pope, who even in the spring of 1557 was not easily dissuaded from declaring Philip deprived of his kingdoms, resolved at least to withdraw

The King of England and Spain the pope's enemy.

all his agents from Philip's dominions. He accordingly cancelled Pole's commission both as legate *a latere* and *legatus natus*. Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador, was alarmed, as the step was pretty sure to create disturbances in England, besides being a very bad return both to Pole and to his two sovereigns for what they had all done to restore papal jurisdiction in that country. Paul himself, apparently, was sensible that he had made a mistake; but to revoke his published act, he said, was impossible. He only modified it by a declaration that it should not include the title of *legatus natus* which belonged to every Archbishop of Canterbury.

Pole's legatine commission revoked.

But now, after Stafford's rebellion had been repressed, the king and queen could no longer dispense with Pole's services in matters of State, and they summoned him to court, on pain of their displeasure. One great question, clearly, was that of declaring war against France. To this Pole could no longer withhold his assent; and the declaration was published on June 7. But the legateship was scarcely of less importance; and the king and queen wrote joint letters to the pope imploring him not to disturb an incomplete settlement of religion, which a legate's authority was particularly necessary to perfect. Similar remonstrances came also from the bishops, and apparently from the clergy at large; and Pole himself, at the express desire of the Council, who had waited on him purposely to declare their deep regret at the pope's intention, wrote likewise to his Holiness, adding that he was not much concerned who exercised the office if the office itself were only effectively maintained. On this the pope, though he declined to go back on what he had done, told the English ambassador that for the queen's sake, not for Philip's, he would appoint another legate in Pole's place; and he accordingly named old Friar Peto, now broken down in years, whom, to the astonishment of everybody, he proposed as a cardinal to a consistory on June 14.

English remonstrances.

Sir Edward Carne warned the pope that this appointment would not please the queen; on which the pope at first laughed, but afterwards said that he hoped Mary would consider that he had urgent reasons for it, and that he had created the new cardinal freely, where other popes had been in the

habit of receiving 40,000 ducats on each creation. He, however, stayed his messenger two days, and besides altering some words in his brief to the queen, added another brief to Pole requiring his presence at Rome. Carne felt assured that if Pole obeyed the summons he would experience treatment like that of his friend Cardinal Morone, whom Paul IV. had caused to be arrested and kept still in prison, though nothing had been found against him after four examinations. Carne's letters reached Mary in the beginning of July, as she was accompanying her husband to Dover to cross once more to Calais; and being thus warned of what the pope had done, she ordered the papal messenger to be detained at Calais that the brief to Pole might not be delivered until she had sent to Rome and heard again. Pole, however, found out what had taken place, and, though pressed both by the queen and Council to continue discharging his duties as legate, absolutely refused to do so any longer, even though he had not received the brief, since they detained the messenger. To clear himself fully on this and some other subjects to the pope, he wrote him a very long letter (Strype describes it as a book rather than a letter) relating these circumstances, and at the same time complaining vehemently of the pope's conduct towards himself. Never had cardinal received such treatment from any pope before; "so that," he said pointedly in this epistle, "as you are without example in what you have done against me, I also am without an example how I ought to behave myself towards your Holiness."

These strong words were not unwarranted, for the pope had actually gone so far as to insinuate that Pole was a heretic; and to cast such a suspicion upon a legate engaged in the active discharge of his functions, and then replace him by another, without first citing him and hearing what he had to say against the charge, was the very height of injustice. Once, as Cardinal Caraffa, in days before he was pope, he had entertained suspicions of another kind against Pole, which he afterwards confessed to be unjust, with such expressions of friendship and esteem that Pole had no reason to expect a recurrence of dislike. And since then, the pope's own words in bestowing upon him the archbishopric of Canterbury had been such as might have cleared him of an

Pole's ill-treatment by the pope.

accusation of heresy from any other quarter. Yet, after all this, and after hearing nothing about Pole but of his constant combats with heretics and his success against them, the Holy Father had tried to cast suspicion upon him in that matter! How would the heretics of England rejoice to see their constant enemy branded with that name himself! Even if it were true that he had given way to false doctrine at any time, what better evidence could he give than he was now doing of his entire devotion to the Church, and his anxiety to bring men back to her? Yet now, he whose piety he had defended, whose honour and dignity he had done so much to promote, being pope, had become alike his accuser and his judge.

Such was the main substance of this long letter. It contained no answer to the summons to Rome, because the brief containing that summons had been kept back from him. Pole sent the letter to Rome by his auditor, Ormanetto, who was unfortunately so unwell when admitted to an audience by the pope on September 4 that he was obliged to withdraw before receiving his dismissal. Nevertheless he managed to state, with great moderation, the case in Pole's behalf, and virtually to put the pope upon the defensive. Paul now found it necessary to be civil, having by this time received such a hard lesson from the teaching of events that he was presently obliged to make peace with Philip. For while his allies the French had been seeking to relieve him from Spanish influence in Italy, Philip had won in Picardy the decisive battle of St. Quentin, and the way lay open for him, if he had only pursued it, to Paris, which stood in dread of his approach. The Duke of Guise had to leave Rome and the pope to make their own terms with the conquerors and hurry back to France. But Alva understood the mind of Philip, and made the terms as little humiliating as possible to a power which they both respected.

Battle of St. Quentin, August 10.

As to Friar Peto, the new cardinal, since the day that he had preached that memorable sermon before Henry VIII. at Greenwich, he had been obliged to live abroad till Mary's accession, when he returned to England and resigned his nominal title to the bishopric of Salisbury which Pope Paul III. had conferred upon him in 1543; for even Mary could not admit his claim to it, as Bishop Salcot

Cardinal Peto.

had joined in the general reconciliation to Rome and obtained absolution from Cardinal Pole from Church censures. Peto was living now at his old convent at Greenwich, which Mary had set up again, when the news reached him of his new dignity, which was as unwelcome to him as it was unexpected. For he was, in fact, an aged man quite unequal to the duties imposed upon him, and his new dignity only exposed him to jeers and insults from the populace as he went about the streets. Indeed, his death, which happened in the following April, is said to have been due to the fracture of a rib from a stone thrown at him when he endeavoured to escape from their violence in a boat.

The pope's action was certainly a great encouragement to English heretics, and was very injurious to the peace of England. The persecution, of course, still went on. It was the law that heretics must be burned, and to relax it was impossible, especially when sedition, intrigue, and conspiracy had so much to do with heresy. A number of royal commissions were issued at intervals, and for different parts of the country, during the last few years of the reign; one of which, issued on February 8, 1557, is printed by Foxe with the title, "A bloody commission given forth by King Philip and Queen Mary to persecute the poor members of Christ." If we read the preamble, however, we find that it was provoked by the assiduous propagation of a number of slanderous and seditious rumours, along with which the sowing of heresies and heretical opinions was merely a concurrent. The commissioners were both clerical and lay, or rather, the Bishops of London and Ely were put at the head of twenty others, all laymen except Dr. Henry Cole, the Dean of St. Paul's. They were empowered to search out and seize all seditious books and writings, inquire into disturbances committed in churches and the taking away of lands or goods belonging to those churches; to note also what persons neglected to attend divine service or refused holy bread or holy water. Their commission, moreover, empowered them to inquire about "vagabonds and masterless men, barretors, quarrellers, and suspect persons" in London and within ten miles, and to commit offenders to prison. There is no appearance that anything more was contemplated than was really

Royal commissions.

quite natural under the circumstances for the peace of the kingdom.

The heretics, though they formed secret societies, were occasionally betrayed by some of their own brethren. Thus it happened that a little company, which had met together on Sunday, December 12, on pretence of hearing a play at the Saracen's Head, Islington, was apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's household. Their real object, it was found, had been to hold a communion service in English. The minister was a Scotsman named John Rough. Originally a Black Friar, he had been chaplain to the Earl of Arran, and had preached in favour of Henry VIII.'s Church policy in Scotland till his master Arran made his peace with Beton. He was then dismissed to Ayrshire, where "the Lollards of Kyle" were still held in remembrance. Like Knox, he had betaken himself to St. Andrews after Beton's murder, and it was he and Henry Balnavis who induced Knox to begin preaching there. He was pensioned by Henry VIII. and by Somerset, and had a living given him in Hull. But after Mary's accession he escaped with his wife (for of course he had married) to Friesland, where he practised as an artisan, and consorted with a number of English heretics who had taken refuge there. He returned, however, probably more than once, conveying books and letters from abroad to those of kindred minds at home, and after his last arrival in November was appointed minister of "that godly fellowship." He was committed to Newgate, and Bonner, having received an order from the Council to examine him, found that he had promoted heretical doctrine on the sacrament, had approved and used the Edwardine form of communion, and had been at Rome, and made scandalous reports of what he had seen there. He was burned in Smithfield on December 22.

The new year, 1558, opened with the loss of Calais, which was besieged on January 1 and captured on the 6th; its important adjunct, Guisnes, surrendered on the 20th. The blow was a crushing one for England; but it was the natural consequence of culpable neglect, while France had been carefully preparing to repair the disaster of St. Quentin. A parliament which met on January 20 is chiefly memorable in that an abbot of Westminster and a

Loss of Calais,

prior of St. John's of Jerusalem again appeared in it; but its proceedings have little interest for us. It was prorogued from March 7 till November 5; and even in that eight months' interval there is little to relate except the continuance of the persecution and a pestilential summer. When it met again the queen was on her deathbed. She passed away on November 17, and her faithful, lifelong friend, Cardinal Pole, died twelve hours later on the same day.

and end of the reign.

History has been cruel to her memory. The horrid epithet "bloody," bestowed so unscrupulously, alike on her and on Bonner and Gardiner and the bishops generally, had, at least, a plausible justification in her case from the severities to which she gave her sanction; though it was really not just, even to her. The spectacle of those cruel proceedings in public, and the enduring recollection of them afterwards, blotted out from the public mind what even at first was but imperfectly known—the painful trials which she herself had so long endured at the hands of lawless persecutors; yet it was just such lawless persecutors who had deranged the whole system of Church government, and as queen she endeavoured to suppress them by means which, if severe, were strictly legal. Among the victims no doubt there were many true heroes and really honest men; but many of them also would have been persecutors if they had had their way. Most of them retained the belief in a Catholic Church, but rejected the mass and held by the services authorised in Edward VI.'s time. But of course this meant complete rejection of an older authority—higher, according to time-honoured theory, than that of any king or parliament—which had never been openly set aside until that generation. The revolution had not merely dethroned the pope—it had virtually destroyed the authority of the bishops. Under Edward VI. they complained that they could no longer exercise their proper functions; the coercive jurisdiction which alone enabled them to have complete supervision of their dioceses was entirely taken away. That was certainly a fact; but it was also a fact that men were not going to endure it again. Secret baptisms, secret communions, secret readings of Scripture, were irregularities quite destructive of episcopal

supervision; but they went on and were not to be put down even under Mary.

On the other hand, not even heretics would have been content with freedom of worship for themselves without putting down the mass. So the question really resolved itself to this —what religion should be supported by the authority of the State and should have power to put down others? It must be confessed Mary's government showed no signs of relenting towards the close. On one occasion six, on another five, and on another seven heretics suffered at a time at Smithfield: ten had been known to burn together at Colchester, and thirteen at Stratford-le-Bow. And yet in 1511 it had been quite exceptional for two men to suffer at Smithfield in one year! In August, just three months before her death, the queen through her Council conveyed a sharp reproof to the Sheriff of Hampshire for staying the execution of a heretic named Bembridge, who, when he began to feel the flames, cried out, "I recant!" Matters, of course, had gone too far with him, and the proper time for clemency was past; so the sheriff was ordered even yet to see the execution carried out; and if the poor penitent continued steadfast, the Bishop of Winchester would appoint a priest to attend him and help him "to die God's servant."

But all this cruelty was alienating people's hearts from authority more than ever. It was brutalising, too; for men went often to the stake in a spirit of bravado, laughing and jesting at their fate. A great change was inevitable as soon as Mary died. But the story of that change will be told in another volume; and we must be content to indicate briefly here some further influences which during the whole of this sad reign were inevitably preparing the way for the new era.

The exiles for religion.

The story of the exiles who quitted England for religion's sake, even from the very outset of the reign, when there was no persecution, might, indeed, fill a volume by itself. We have seen already how Peter Martyr, John à Lasco, and Valérand Poullain, with the foreign congregations in London and at Glastonbury, were permitted freely to leave the country. Peter Martyr returned to Strassburg, Valérand Poullain settled at Frankfort, and John à Lasco, though he sailed at first to Denmark, found

no resting-place till he got back to his native Poland. As to English schismatics, also, it has been noted how Bale and Ponet fled the country. The former escaped to Holland and found an abiding refuge at Bâle; the latter got to Strassburg. Coverdale, at the King of Denmark's intercession, was allowed to go to Denmark. Dr. Richard Cox, the "cancellor" of Oxford University, after a brief imprisonment on suspicion of having supported Lady Jane, found his way to Frankfort. Hosts of married clergy also migrated to the Continent, and not a few laymen, among whom were persons of no less distinction than the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk (widow of Charles Brandon) and her new husband Mr. Richard Bertie.

It was not easy for these refugees to find places in which to settle; for France was barred to them, and Protestant Germany abhorred their sacramental doctrine not less than the Church of Rome did. Some got leave to stay at Wesel by the intercession of Melanchthon. By Peter Martyr's friendship others found a refuge at Strassburg; Knox was with his master Calvin at Geneva, and there were other companies in Switzerland, at Bâle, at Zurich, and latterly at Aarau. But the chief resting-place in Germany was the free city of Frankfort, where Valérand Poullain had already procured a church for his own company of Frenchmen from Glastonbury, and, in return for the shelter he had received in England, agreed to share the use of it with a body of Englishmen who arrived there in June 1554, on the understanding that there should be agreement in point of doctrine. This led to a reconsideration of the English service-book, already once revised at home, and the omission in use of many details in the administration of the sacraments as superfluous and superstitious. But the congregation was without a head, and wrote to the other congregations in Germany and Switzerland for advice, and finally to Knox at Geneva to come and be their minister. Knox came, but differences of opinion about the book increased all the more. Calvin was referred to and found the book trifling and childish, but suggested compromise, as the worst that it contained were *tolerabiles ineptiæ*. Knox, however, drew up a new order, which the other party, headed by Dr. Richard Cox, would not agree to, insisting that the English service-

The troubles at Frankfort.

book should be maintained. The dispute became fervid—"so boiling hot," says an original report, "that it ran over on both sides, and yet no fire quenched"; and it led to secessions from the congregation to Bâle and Aarau. Knox, moreover, was turned out, and went back to Geneva, being in danger, indeed, from the civil magistrate for things he had written in a small pamphlet about the emperor and his son Philip, besides his abuse of "the wicked Mary," as he called the English queen. Calvin rebuked the English congregation for what he called their unbrotherly treatment of Knox; but they had a telling reply. "This we can assure you," they wrote to him, "that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's has added much oil to the flame of persecution in England. For before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death; but as soon as it came forth, you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames."

This answer, coming from those who were themselves refugees for religion, is of much historical significance, and we need not pursue the story further. Mary's government of England was a sad failure, but it was not merely on account of her religion. It was mainly because the fanaticism of others encouraged treason, and because her cold, cautious Spanish husband was not the man to strengthen English loyalty. A further reason, of course, was that the possessors of Church lands disliked even the moral effect of her example in restoring Church property.

AUTHORITIES.—Besides those used by the general historian, the Foreign and Venetian Calendars of State Papers are important; also Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii.; Strype's heading of No. lxvi. in the Appendix is wrong. There is nothing to show that this document emanated from Parliament, which, in fact, was not then sitting. It was probably drawn up in the name of the clergy. Mazière Brady's *Episcopal Succession*. Among other references to Foxe and Burnet note especially the commission printed by Foxe, viii. 301, and by Burnet, v. 469. In the *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vi., note p. 1420 about Peto (a reference omitted in the Index) and p. 1672 about heretics going to the stake. For the story of refugees abroad see Strype's *Cranmer*, bk. iii. ch. 15; *Original Letters* (Parker Soc.), "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort," originally published in 1575, reprinted 1846. Fuller's *Church History*, bk. viii., may also be consulted.

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSION

And now let us consider the main results as regards religion in England of the half-century that we have traversed. At the beginning the position of the Church, under the jurisdiction of Rome, seemed as secure as it had ever been. The confusions of past ages had gone by. The removal of the Holy See to Avignon, the Great Schism of the papacy, the monstrosity of rival popes, each claiming to govern all Christendom, were things of the past, and were never to return. Whatever else may be said of the Council of Constance, it put an end to ecclesiastical anarchy, and there was but one obedience in Western Europe for more than a century after, as, indeed, there is but one obedience still for those who acknowledge papal authority at all.

But this strengthening of the Church had its weak side. The Church was the only external authority in matters of faith and morals, and kings and emperors found it their interest, as it seemed to be their duty, to support it in its old and recognised position. It had a peculiar jurisdiction of its own in every kingdom—an *imperium in imperio*, which did not trouble the civil ruler much, for he, in his turn, could obtain from the Holy See a sanction for his own authority which was of no small value, subjects knowing full well that a revolt against their lawful prince would bring down upon them ecclesiastical censures not less than temporal punishment. Rome, also, saw the value of temporal support, so that kings could even obtain, too often, indulgences of a questionable kind, such as dispensations which enabled them to play fast and loose with

the marriage tie. Abstract principles of right and wrong were indeed safeguarded. The sanctity of marriage was always upheld in theory, and divorce, in the true sense of the word, was never regarded as admissible; but abundant casuistry was exercised at times in disputing the validity of marriages which had actually taken place, with the result that a most sacred tie was rendered practically insecure and was not so highly honoured as it should have been. This, together with the sad effects of clerical celibacy and laxity of discipline, produced social results among the people which were certainly deplorable.

As regards doctrine, too, the strengthening of the Church was not in all respects an advantage. For here the discipline was not lax, the theory being that no evil could be worse for a community than the deliberate propagation of error in things sacred; and there were not wanting evidences to show how the peace of a kingdom could be wrecked by heresy. Bohemia was particularly pointed at, as a land where new doctrines had created civil war and spread general ruin. Even in England men looked back to the case of the enthusiast Oldcastle, who had raised a formidable insurrection in the days of Henry V. Indeed, Lollardy was by no means an innocent attempt to secure freedom for the individual judgment; it was a spirit that prompted the violation of order and disrespect to all authority. Founding itself upon private interpretation of the Scriptures, it destroyed images and defied law. It became even more dangerous after the Reformation than before, when, under the new names of Puritanism and Calvinism, it issued scurrilous pamphlets against bishops; coerced, insulted, and deposed a sovereign in Scotland; and ultimately, in England itself, overturned the throne and established a military despotism. How hideous it could make itself, even in a single generation, after the spell of papal authority was broken, may be seen in John Knox's warm approval of one of the most brutal murders that ever disgraced humanity.

Rebellion against an established order in the Church—easily leading to rebellion against the State as well—was, of course, a still greater danger when the supreme ruler in secular things had deposed the old supreme ruler in things spiritual. But the fact was that the Church had already become too

large, and its government too difficult, to be controlled by popes and councils any longer. The Council of Trent was committed beforehand on certain subjects of dispute, when it met amid the muttering thunder of civil war in Germany, and it took no cognisance of the condition of pious souls in England—nay, even of the most loyal souls forced to make concessions to the evil times. It gave no help whatever to determine the conditions of a true faith that could afford to endure tyranny, rendering to Cæsar what was strictly his, and to God what was due to Him. Rome virtually threw over loyal souls struggling to do their best, and, while disowning every local or national attempt at a religious settlement, whether by diet, interim, or established Church, left some nations of Europe no other remedy than to find such settlement for themselves. In vain Rome exalted her prerogative anew and declared herself above kings and princes, threatening to depose them if they departed from a faith laid down now with greater rigidity than before. The attempt only discredited Rome's pretensions all the more, and demoralised alike her votaries and her opponents.

The source of the evil must be traced back into the past. The external strengthening of the Church of Rome for a century before the Reformation had been accompanied by growing internal weakness. If Lollardy was a spiritual evil, it ought to have been met from the outset by spiritual weapons. The Church, if sound in herself, ought to have been able to subdue it by convincing the heretics that reason was on her side. This Bishop Pecock attempted to do in the fifteenth century; but he himself was branded as a heretic for his pains. Lollardy was not answered, but stamped out. The custody of the faith was jealously guarded by the clergy as their own special privilege. Interpretation of the Bible was their particular function. Laymen were warned off the sacred ground, and their untrained logic was required simply to bow to the decisions of learned men founded on scholastic metaphysics. But the laity had a right to be reasoned with, and, since this was not conceded to them, they formed secret societies and reasoned among themselves in a way that was really dangerous to the Church's teaching and authority. Here it was that Henry VIII. saw his advantage when he wished to throw off papal authority. He had merely to encourage forces which

till that time he, like every other sovereign, had studiously kept in check. He knew, indeed, that it was a task not unattended with danger; but he was watchful to the end, and the chief evils did not come in his day.

Under the unstable government of his son, what had once been heresy carried all before it. But heresy enthroned in power had to consider on what principles it could safely rest; and amid all the noise and violence of the reign a standard of belief was being quietly elaborated by Cranmer and other divines, which, after the Marian reaction was over, was adopted with very slight modification in the familiar Thirty-nine Articles. In these, and in the English Prayer-book itself, the final results of the Reformation were embodied, so far as doctrine and devotion were concerned; and it would be difficult to overestimate their value. No formularies were ever drawn that give so much liberty to the human mind. Truth had been well tested by martyrdoms on either side before they were finally adopted; and while they repudiated the exclusiveness of Rome, they raised no barrier to the freest thinking consistent with belief in revelation. They constitute a more real catholicism than that of the Council of Trent.

But this result was allied with a political change quite as marked and even more far-reaching. For it destroyed the old *imperium in imperio* altogether; and this not in England only, but ultimately all the world over. The king was declared to have the supreme government within his own realm in all causes, alike ecclesiastical and civil. It was a new principle that Henry VIII. introduced into politics, involving new responsibilities to him and his successors, that the civil ruler was charged with the care of national religion no less than with the national defence and administration. But this principle has survived to the present day, and will remain. Men may secede from the Church of England as they please, but it remains a national trust, reflecting, as it must always do, the religious feeling of the nation.

APPENDIX I

SOME PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.
Jubilee at Rome	1500
Subsidy procured by Henry VII. for a crusade	1501
Marriage of Prince Arthur to Katharine of Aragon, November 14	1501
Death of Prince Arthur, April 2	1502
Treaty for Katharine's marriage to Henry, Prince of Wales	1503
Death of Henry VII., April 21	1509
Henry VIII. marries Katharine, June 11	1509
Council of Pisa, September 1	1511
The Holy League formed at Rome, October 5	1512
Battle of Flodden, September 9; Capture of Tournay, September 23	1513
Henry VIII.'s sister Mary married to Louis XII., October 9	1514
Inquest on Richard Hunne, December 6	1514
Wolsey created a cardinal, September 10	1515
Birth of Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., February 18	1516
Luther opposes the sale of Indulgences in Germany	1517
Campeggio comes to England; Wolsey made legate along with him	1518
Charles V. elected emperor, June 28	1519
Field of the Cloth of Gold, June	1520
Henry VIII. writes against Luther, and the pope creates him *Fidei Defensor*	1521
Francis I. taken prisoner at Pavia, February 24	1525
Treaty of Madrid, January 14	1526
Henry VIII. seeks a divorce from Katharine	1527
Sack of Rome, May	1527
Wolsey's mission to France, July-September	1527
The king's divorce suit before Campeggio and Wolsey at Blackfriars	1529
Fall of Wolsey, October 9; More made lord chancellor, October 25	1529
Opinions of universities obtained for the king	1530
Death of Wolsey, November 29	1530
The clergy acknowledge the king's supremacy with a qualification	1531
Submission of the clergy	1532
Interview of Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Boulogne, October	1532
Secret marriage of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, January 25	1533
Coronation of Anne Boleyn as queen, June 1	1533
Sentence at Rome, declaring Henry's marriage with Katharine valid, July 11	1533
Birth of Elizabeth, afterwards queen, September 7	1533

	A.D.
Act of Supremacy passed by Parliament	1534
Martyrdoms of Carthusian monks, of More, Fisher, and others	1535
Suppression of the smaller monasteries	1536
Anne Boleyn beheaded; Henry marries Jane Seymour, May	1536
Rebellions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, October	1536
Marriage of James V. of Scotland and Madeleine in Paris, January 1	1537
Severe punishment of rebels in the North of England	1537
Birth of Edward VI., October 12	1537
Surrenders begin to be taken of the larger monasteries	1538
Ten years' truce between Charles V. and Francis I., June 18	1538
Spoliation of Becket's shrine at Canterbury, September	1538
Executions of the Marquess of Exeter and Lord Montague, December 9	1538
The Act of the Six Articles	1539
Abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester put to death	1539
Charles V. at Paris on his way to the Netherlands, January 1	1540
Henry VIII. marries Anne of Cleves, January 6; is divorced from her, July 9	1540
Execution of Cromwell, July 28	1540
Execution of the Countess of Salisbury, May 28	1541
Henry VIII. proclaimed King of Ireland, January 22	1542
Queen Katharine Howard beheaded, February 12	1542
Defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss, November 25; Death of James V., December 14	1542
Alliance of Henry VIII. and the emperor against France	1543
"The King's Book" (*A Necessary Doctrine*) published, May	1543
Henry VIII. marries Katharine Parr, July 12	1543
Three Windsor heretics burned, July 28	1543
Cranmer complained of by his prebendaries	1543
The English burn Edinburgh and invade France	1544
Act for the dissolution of chantries	1545
Council of Trent meets, December 13	1545
George Wishart burned at St. Andrews, March 28	1546
Cardinal Beton murdered, May 29	1546
Martyrdom of Anne Askew, July 16	1546
Death of Henry VIII., January 28; Edward VI. crowned, February 20	1547
Death of Francis I., March 31; Henry II. succeeds	1547
Council of Trent transferred to Bologna, April 21	1547
Defeat of the German Protestants at Mühlberg, April 24	1547
Battle of Pinkie, September 10	1547
Bishops Bonner and Gardiner sent to the Fleet, September	1547
Parliament repeals heresy laws and allows marriage of the clergy, November, December	1547
"The Order of Communion" issued, March 8	1548
The Interim at Augsburg, May 15	1548
Mary Stuart conveyed from Scotland to France, August	1548
First Act of Uniformity, January 21	1549
Visitation of Oxford and Cambridge universities, May	1549
The Western Rising and Kett's rebellion in Norfolk	1549
Bishop Bonner deprived, October 1	1549
Somerset arrested, October 14	1549
Act against images in churches, January	1550
Treaty restoring Boulogne to France, March 24	1550
Ridley in his visitation orders removal of altars, May	1550

	A.D.
Gardiner deprived of his bishopric, February 14	1551
Council of Trent reopened, May 1	1551
Execution of the Duke of Somerset, January 22	1552
Second Act of Uniformity, April	1552
Council of Trent suspended, April 28	1552
Peace of Passau, May 26, secures religious liberty in Germany	1552
Bishop Tunstall deprived, October 13	1552
Death of Edward VI., July 6; Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen, July 10; Mary proclaimed, July 19	1553
Wyatt's rebellion, January	1554
Great changes among the bishops	1554
Philip of Spain comes to England and marries Mary, July	1554
Cardinal Pole, having arrived in England, absolves the realm from schism, November 30	1554
Heresy laws revived, December	1554
John Rogers (first Marian martyr) burned, February 4	1555
Many others follow during the next two years and a half.	
Ridley and Latimer burned at Oxford, October 16	1555
Cranmer burned at Oxford, March 21	1556
Cardinal Pole consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, March 22	1556
The pope at war with Philip II. in Italy	1556
Pole deprived of his legation	1556
Calais taken by the French, January 6	1558
Deaths of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, November 17	1558

APPENDIX II

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS	Accession.
Henry VII.	1485
Henry VIII.	1509
Edward VI.	1547
Mary	1553
Philip and Mary	1554

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY	Accession.
John Morton (Cardinal, 1493)	1486
Henry Deane	1501
William Warham	1503
Thomas Cranmer	1533
Reginald Pole (Cardinal, 1536)	1556

ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK	Accession.
Thomas Rotherham	1480
Thomas Savage	1501
Christopher Bainbridge (Cardinal, 1511)	1508
Thomas Wolsey (Cardinal, 1515)	1514
Edward Lee	1531
Robert Holgate	1545
Nicholas Heath	1555

POPES	Accession.
Innocent VIII.	1484
Alexander VI.	1492
Pius III.	1503
Julius II.	1503
Leo X.	1513
Adrian VI.	1522
Clement VII.	1523
Paul III.	1534
Julius III.	1550
Marcellus II.	1555
Paul IV.	1555

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KEY TO MAP

LISTS OF MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES

I. Suppressed by Wolsey (1524-8) for his Colleges

These are indicated on the Map (except where they are in towns) by the letter W and a numeral.

1. Beigham (Bayham) abbey, Sussex. *Premonstratensian*
2. Blackmore priory, Essex. *Austin Canons*
3. Blythburgh pr., Suff. *A. C.*
4. Bradwell pr., Bucks. *Benedictine*
5. Bromehill pr., Norf. *A. C.*
6. Canwell pr., Staff. *Cluniac*
7. Causeway (*de Calceto*) pr. *A. C.*
8. Daventry pr., Northt. *Ben.*
9. Dodnash pr., Suff. *A. C.*
10. Felixstowe pr., Suff. *Ben.* (cell of Rochester cath.)
11. Horkesley pr., Essex. *Cluniac*
12. Ipswich, pr. of St. Peter and Paul. *A. C.* *See* Towns
13. Lesnes abbey, Kent. *A. C.*
14. Littlemore pr., Oxf. *Ben. Nuns*
15. Mountjoy pr., Norf. *A. C.*
16. Oxford, St. Frideswide's pr. *A. C.* *See* Towns
17. Poughley pr., Berks. *A. C.*
18. Pray, or St. Mary de Pratis, St. Albans. *Ben. Nuns.* *See* Towns
19. Ravenston pr., Bucks. *A. C.*
20. Rumburgh pr., Suff. *Ben.* (cell of St. Mary's, York)
21. Sandwell pr., Staff. *Ben.*
22. Snape pr., Suff. *Ben.*
23. Stanesgate pr., Essex. *Cluniac* (cell of Lewes)
24. Thoby pr., Essex. *A. C.*
25. Tickford pr., Bucks. *Ben.* (cell of Holy Trin., York)
26. Tiptree pr., Essex. *A. C.*
27. Tonbridge pr., Kent. *A. C.*
28. Wallingford pr., Berks. *Ben.* (cell of St. Albans)
29. Wikes pr., Essex. *Ben. Nuns*

II. Houses of Observant Friars

suppressed in 1534, the inmates being all placed in the Tower, or sent to custody in other monasteries. They had seven houses in England, of which six can be identified as at Southampton, Canterbury, Newcastle, Newark, Greenwich, and Richmond (Surrey). The last two were built for them by Henry VII. The others were old Franciscan houses reformed. *See* Parkinson's *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica*, 211.

III. Carthusian Monasteries

or Charterhouses. These are indicated on the Map (except where they are in towns) by the letter C and a numeral.

The houses of which the names are printed in italics were allowed to continue after the Act of 1536, though their endowments were under £200 a year, but were surrendered later.

1. *Beauvale*, Notts.
2. *Coventry*, Warw. *See* Towns
3. Epworth, in the Isle of Axholme, Linc.
4. Hinton, Soms.
5. *Hull*, Yorks. *See* Towns
6. London. *See* Towns
7. Mountgrace, Yorks.
8. Sheen, Surrey
9. Witham, Soms.

IV. Monasteries suppressed by Parliament, A.D. 1536

Indicated on the Map by the letter P and a numeral.

This is a list of the houses which had not endowments to the value of £200 a year. Those named in *italics*, however, obtained licences to continue, though a year or two later they were forced to surrender.

1. Aberconway, Denbighshire. *Cistercian*
2. *Alnwick*, Northumb. *Premon.*
3. Alvingham, Linc. *Gilbertine*
4. Anglesey, Camb. *A. C.*
5. Ashby, Northt. *A. C.*
6. Ashridge, Bucks. *Bonhommes*
7. Bardsey, Carnarvon. *Ben.*
8. Barlinch, Soms. *A. C.*
9. Barnstaple, Devon. *Cluniac*
10. Basingwerk, Flints. *Cist.*
11. Beauchief, Derb. *Premon.*
12. Beeston, Norf. *A. C.*
13. Berden, Essex. *A. C.*
14. Bethgelert, Carn. *A. C.*
15. Bileigh, Essex. *Premon.*
16. Bilsington, Kent. *A. C.*
    (This priory surrendered to royal visitors in February 1536, before the parliamentary suppression.)
17. *Bindon*, Dorset. *Cist.*
18. Birkenhead, Cheshire. *Ben.*
19. Bisham, Berks. *A. C.*
    (This priory was refounded as an abbey 18th December 1537 with additional endowments taken from Chertsey, but was surrendered on the 19th June 1538.)
20. *Bittlesden*, Bucks. *Cist.*
21. *Blanchland*, Nthumb. *Premon.*
22. Blyth, Notts. *Ben.*
23. Bourne, Linc. *A. C.*
24. Boxgrave, Sussex. *Ben.*
25. Boxley, Kent. *Cist.*
26. Bradley, Leic. *A. C.*
27. Bredsall, Derb. *A. C.*
28. Bridge end (Horbling), Linc. *Gilb.*
29. Bridport, Dorset. (Order not known.)
30. Brinkburne, Nthumb. *A. C.*
31. Bromere, Hants. *A. C.*
32. Bromholm, Norf. *Cluniac*
33. Brooke, St. Mary, Rutland. *A. C.*
34. Bruern, Oxf. *Cist.*
35. Buckenham, Norf. *A. C.*
36. Buildwas, Salop. *Cist.*
37. Burcester (now Bicester), Oxf. *A. C.*
38. Burscough, Lanc. *A. C.*
39. Bushmead, Beds. *A. C.*
40. Calder ab., Cumb. *Cist.*
41. Caldwell abbey, by Bedford. *A. C.* *See* Towns
42. Caldy Island, Pemb. *Ben.* (cell to St. Dogmael's)
43. Calwich, Staff. (decayed). Suppressed in 1532. *A. C.*
44. Cambridge, St. Edmund's pr. *Gilb.* *See* Towns
45. Canterbury, St. Gregory's. *A. C.* *See* Towns
46. Carmarthen. *A. C.* *See* Towns
47. Cartmel, Lanc. *A. C.*
48. Catteley, Linc. *Gilb.*
49. Chacomb, Northt. *A. C.*
50. Chepstow, Monm. *Ben.* *See* Towns
51. Chirbury, Salop. *A. C.*
52. Clattercote, Oxf. *Gilb.*
53. Cleeve, Soms. *Cist.*
54. Clifford, Heref. *Cluniac*
55. *Cockersand*, Lanc. *Premon.*
56. Cokesford, Norf. *A. C.*
57. Colchester, St. Botolph's, Essex. *See* Towns
58. Colne, Earl's, Essex. *Ben.*
59. Combewell, Kent. *A. C.*
60. Conishead, Lanc. *A. C.*
61. Coverham, Yorks. *Premon.*
62. *Croxden*, Staff. *Cist.*
63. Cwmhyre, Radnor. *Cist.*
64. *Dale*, Derb. *Premon.*
65. Donington, Berks. *Trinitarian Friars*

66. Dorchester, Oxf. *See* Towns
67. Dore, Heref. *Cist.*
68. Drax, Yorks. *A. C.*
69. Dunmow, Essex. *A. C.*
70. Dureford, Suss. *Premon.*
71. Easton (near Burbage), Wilts. *Trin. Friars*
72. *Egleston*, Yorks. *Premon.*
73. Ellerton, Yorks. *Gilb.*
74. Elsham, Linc. *A. C.*
75. Erdbury, Warw. (now Arbury Hall). *A. C.*
76. Exeter, St. Nicholas'. *Ben.* *See* Towns
77. Eye, Suff. *Ben.*
78. Farleigh, Wilts. *Cluniac*
79. Felley, Notts. *A. C.*
80. Ferreby, North, Yorks. *A. C.*
81. Fineshade, Northt. *A. C.*
82. Flanesford, Heref. *A. C.*
83. Flexley, Glouc. *Cist.*
84. Flitcham, Norf. *A. C.*
85. Folkestone, Kent. *Ben.*

(This priory surrendered to royal visitors in November 1535, before the parliamentary suppression.)

86. Ford, Devon (now in Dorset). *Cist.*
87. Frithelstoke, Devon. *A. C.*
88. Garendon, Leic. *Cist.*
89. Gloucester, St. Oswald's. *A. C.* *See* Towns
90. Gracedieu, Monm. *Cist.*
91. Gresley, Derb. *A. C.*
92. Grosmont, Yorks. *Ben.*
93. Hagnaby, Linc. *Premon.*
94. Haltemprice, Yorks. *A. C.*
95. Hardham (or Herningham), Suss. *A. C.*
96. Hastings, Suss. *A. C.*
97. Hatfield Broadoak, Essex. *Ben.*
98. Haverfordwest, Pemb. *A. C.* *See* Towns
99. Haverholme, Linc. *Premon.*
100. Healaugh, Yorks. *A. C.*
101. Hempton, Norf. *A. C.*
102. Herringfleet, Suff. *A. C.*
103. Hexham, Nthumb. *A. C.*
104. Hickling, Norf. *A. C.*
105. *Hilton* (Hulton), Staff. *Cist.*
106. Holland, Lanc. *Ben.*
107. Horsham St. Faith, Norf. *Ben.*
108. Horton, Kent. *Cluniac*
109. Hounslow, Midd. *Trin. Friars*
110. Humberstone, Linc. *Ben.*
111. *Huntingdon, St. Mary's.* *A. C.* *See* Towns
112. Ingham, Little, Norf. *Trin. Friars*
113. Ivychurch, Wilts. *A. C.*
114. Ixworth, Suff. *A. C.*
115. Kirby Bellars, Leic. *A. C.*
116. *Kyme*, Linc. *A. C.*
117. Kymmer, Merioneth. *Cist.*
118. Lanercost, Cumb. *A. C.*
119. Langdon, Kent. *Premon.*

(Surrendered to royal visitors in November 1535, before the parliamentary suppression.)

120. Langley, Norf. *Premon.*
121. Latton, Essex. *A. C.*
122. Lavenden, Bucks. *Premon.*
123. Letheringham, Suff. *A. C.*
124. Leystone, Suff. *Premon.*
125. Lighes, Essex. *A. C.*
126. Llantarnam, Monm. *Cist.*
127. Louth Park, Linc. *Cist.*
128. Maiden Bradley, Wilts. *A. C.*
129. Margam, Glamorgan. *Cist.*
130. Markby, Linc. *A. C.*
131. Marlborough, Wilts. *Gilb.* *See* Towns
132. Marton, Yorks. *A. C.*

(Surrendered in February 1536, before the parliamentary suppression.)

133. Maxstoke, Warw. *A. C.*
134. Medmenham, Bucks. *Cist.*
135. Michelham, Suss. *A. C.*
136. Monmouth. *Ben.*
137. Mottenden, Kent. *Trin. Friars*
138. Mottisfont, Hants. *A. C.*
139. *Neath*, Glamorgan. *Cist.*
140. Netley, Hants. *Cist.*
141. Newbo, Linc. *Premon.* (in Grantham). *See* Towns
142. Newminster, Nthumb. *Cist.*
143. Newsome, or Newhouse, Linc. *Premon.*
144. Newstead (by Stamford), Linc. *A. C.* *See* Towns
145. Newstead (in Lindsey), Linc. *Gilb.*
146. *Newstead* (in Sherwood), Notts. *A. C.*
147. Nocton, Linc. *A. C.*

148. *Northampton, St. James'*. *A. C. See* Towns
149. Norton, Chesh. *A. C.*
150. Osulveston (now Owston), Leic. *A. C.*
151. Ovingham, Nthumb. *A. C.* (cell of Hexham)
152. Penmon, Anglesea. *Ben.*
153. Pentney, Norf. *A. C.*
154. Pill, Pemb. *Ben.*
155. Prittlewell, Essex. *Cluniac*
156. Quarr, I. of Wight. *Cist.*
157. Ranton, or Ronton, Staff. *A. C.*
158. Reigate, Surrey. *A. C.*
159. *Repton*, Derb. *A. C.*
160. Rewley, Oxf. *Cist. See* Towns: Oxford
161. *Rocester abbey*, Staff. *A. C.*
162. Royston, Herts. *A. C.*
163. Rufford, Notts. *Cist.*
164. St. Agatha's, Richmond, Yorks. *Premon. See* Towns
165. St. Dogmael's, Pemb. *Ben.*
166. St. Kynemark, by Chepstow, Monm. *Ben.* (?) *See* Towns
167. St. Radegund's, Kent, by Dover. *Premon. See* Towns
168. Sawtry, Hunts. *Cist.*
169. *Shap*, Westmor. *Premon.*
170. Shelford, Notts. *A. C.*
171. Shulbred, Suss. *A. C.*
172. Sibton, Suff. *Cist.*
173. Sixhill, Linc. *Gilb.*
174. Snelleshall, Bucks. *Ben.*
175. *Stafford, St. Thomas'*. *A. C. See* Towns
176. Stanley, Wilts. *Cist.*
177. Stone, Staff. *A. C.*
178. Stoneleigh, Warw. *Cist.*
179. Stoneley, Hunts. *A. C.*
180. *Stratflour*, Cardigan. *Cist.*
181. Strat Margel, Montg. *Cist.*
182. Studley, Warw. *A. C.*
183. Swineshead, Linc. *Cist.*
184. Tallagh, Carmarthen. *Premon.*
185. Tandridge, Surrey. *A. C.*
186. Thetford, Norf. *Canons of St. Sepulchre. See* Towns
187. Thornholme, Linc. *A. C.*
188. Thremhall, Essex. *A. C.*
189. Tiltey, Essex. *Cist.*

(Surrendered in February 1536, before the parliamentary suppression.)

190. Tintern abbey, Monm. *Cist.*
191. Torkesey, Linc. *A. C.*
192. Tortington, Suss. *A. C.*
193. Totnes, Devon. *Ben.*
194. Trentham, Staff. *A. C.*
195. Tupholme, Linc. *Premon.*
196. Tywardreth, Cornw. *Ben.*
197. *Ulvescroft*, Leic. *A. C.*
198. Valle Crucis, Denb. *Cist.*
199. Vaudey, Linc. *Cist.*
200. Warter, Yorks. *A.C.*
201. Warwick, St. Sepulchre's. *A. C. See* Towns
202. Waverley, Surrey. *Cist.*
203. Wellow, Linc. *A. C. See* Towns: Grimsby
204. Wendling, Norf. *A. C.*
205. Weybourn, Norf. *A. C.*
206. Weybridge, Norf. *A. C.*
207. *Whitland*, Carm. *Cist.*
208. Wombridge, Salop. *A. C.*
209. Woodbridge, Suff. *A. C.*
210. *Wormesley*, Heref. *A. C.*
211. Worspring, Soms. *A. C.*
212. Wroxton, Oxf. *A. C.*
213. Wymondley Parva, Herts. *A.C.*
214. York, Holy Trinity. *Ben. See* Towns
215. York, St. Andrew's. *Gilb. See* Towns

V. NUNNERIES SUPPRESSED BY PARLIAMENT (1536) UNDER THE SAME ACT

1. Aconbury, Heref. *Augustinian*
2. Ankerwyke, Bucks. *Ben.*
3. Arden, Yorks. *Ben.*
4. Armthwaite, Cumb. *Ben.*
5. *Arthington*, Yorks. *Cluniac*
6. Barrow Gurney, Soms. *Ben.*
7. Basedale, Yorks. *Cist.*
8. Blackborough, Norf. *Ben.*
9. *Brewood*, "*Black Ladies*," Staff. *Ben.*
10. Brewood, "White Ladies," Salop. *Cist.*

(The "Black Ladies" seem to have had a licence to continue, though it is not enrolled, for they surrendered on the 16th October 1538. The "White Ladies"—in the same parish, but in another county—were expecting a visit from the Commissioners for their suppression in March 1537.)

11. Bristol, St. Mary Magdalen. *Ben.*
12. Broadholme, Notts. *Premon.*
13. *Brusyard*, Suff. *Minoresses* (*i.e.* Franciscan nuns)
14. Bungay, Suff. *Ben.*
15. *Burnham*, Bucks. *Aug.*
16. Campsey, Suff. *Aug.*
17. Cannington, Soms. *Ben.*
18. *Canonleigh*, Devon. *Aug.*
19. Canterbury, St. Sepulchre's. *Ben.* *See* Towns
20. Carrow, by Norwich. *Ben.* *See* Towns
21. Catesby, Northt. *Ben.*
22. *Chatteris*, Camb. *Ben.*
23. Cheshunt, Herts. *Ben.*
24. *Chester, St. Mary's.* *Ben.* *See* Towns
25. Clementhorpe, York. *Ben.* *See* Towns : York
26. *Cokehill*, Worc. *Cist.*
27. Cornworthy, Devon. *Aug.*
28. Crabhouse, Norf. *Aug.*
29. Davington pr., Kent. *Ben.*
30. *Denney*, Camb.
31. Derby, King's Mead, or de Pratis. *See* Towns
32. Easebourne, Suss. *Ben.*
33. Ellerton (on the Swale), Yorks. *Cist.*
34. Esholt, Yorks. *Cist.*
35. Flamstead, Herts. *Ben.*
36. Flixton, Suff. *Aug.*
37. Foss, near Torksey, Linc. *Ben.*
38. Gokewell, Linc. *Cist.*
39. Goring, Oxf. *Aug.*
40. *Gracedieu*, Leic. *Aug.*
41. Greenfield, Linc. *Cist.*
42. Grimsby, Linc. *Ben.* *See* Towns
43. Hallystone, Nthumb. *Ben.*
44. *Hampole* (Hamphall), Yorks. *Cist.*
45. Handale, Yorks. *Ben.*
46. Harwood, Beds. *Aug.*
47. Hedingham, Essex. *Ben.*
48. Henwood, Warw. *Ben.*
49. *Hevening*, Linc. *Cist.*
50. Hinchingbrook, by Huntingdon. *Ben.* *See* Towns
51. Ickleton, Camb. *Ben.*
52. Irford (now Orford), Linc. *Premon.*
53. Ivinghoe, Bucks. *Ben.*
54. *Keldholme*, Yorks. *Cist.*
55. Kilburn, Midd. *Ben.*
56. Kington, Wilts. *Ben.*
57. *Kirklees*, Yorks. *Cist.*
58. Langley, Leic. *Ben.*
59. *Laycock*, Wilts. *Aug.*
60. Legbourne, Linc. *Cist.*
61. *Limebrook*, Heref. *Aug.*
62. Llanllear, Cardigan. *Cist.*
63. Llanllugan, Montg. *Cist.*
64. Marham, Norf. *Cist.*
65. Market Street, Beds. *Ben.*
66. Marlow, Little, Bucks. *Ben.*
67. *Marrick*, Yorks. *Ben.*
68. Minster, in Sheppey. *Ben.*
69. Molesby (Melsonby), Yorks. *Ben.*
70. *Neasham*, Durham. *Ben.*
71. *Newcastle-on-Tyne, St. Bartholomew's.* *Ben.* *See* Towns
72. *Northampton, St. Mary de Prato* (or De la Praye). *Clun.*
73. *Nunappleton*, Yorks. *Cist.*
74. Nunburnholme, Yorks. *Ben.*
75. Nunmonkton, Yorks. *Ben.*
76. Pinley, Warw. *Cist.*
77. *Polesworth*, Warw. *Ben.*
78. *Polleslo*, Devon. *Ben.* *See* Towns : Exeter
79. Redlingfield, Suff. *Ben.*
80. Rosedale, Yorks. *Ben.*
81. Rothwell, Northt. *Aug.*
82. Rusper, Suss. *Ben.*
83. Seaton, Cumb. *Ben.*
84. Sewardesley, in Shuttlehanger par., Northt. *Cist.*
85. Sinningthwayte, Yorks. *Cist.*
86. Sopwell, by St. Alban's, Herts.
87. Stainfield, Linc. *Ben.*
88. *Stixwold*, Linc. *Cist.*
89. Stratford at Bow, Midd. *Ben.*
90. *Studley*, Oxf. *Ben.*
91. Swaffham Bulbeck, Camb. *Ben.*
92. *Swine*, Yorks. *Cist.*
93. Thetford, Norf. *Ben.* *See* Towns
94. Thickhed, Yorks. *Ben.*
95. Usk, Monm. *Ben.*
96. *Wallingwells*, Notts. *Ben.*
97. Westwood, Worc. *Ben.*
98. Whiston, Worc. *Cist.* *See* Towns : Worcester

99. *Winchester, St. Mary's.* *Ben.* *See* Towns
100. Wintney, Hants. *Cist.*
101. Wroxall, Warw. *Ben.*
102. Wykeham, Yorks. *Cist.*
103. Yeddingham, Yorks. *Ben.*

VI. Monasteries surrendered (1537-40)

Indicated on the Map by the letter S and a numeral.

The heads of the houses marked with an asterisk (*) were mitred abbots and sat in parliament.

1. Abbotsbury abbey, Dorset. *Ben.*
2. *Abingdon ab., Berks. *Ben.*
3. Athelney ab., Soms. *Ben.*
4. *Bardney ab., Linc. *Ben.*
5. Barnwell pr., by Cambridge. *A. C.* *See* Towns
6. Bath Cathedral pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
   Cell: Dunster, Soms. (6 *a*)
7. *Battle ab., Sussex. *Ben.*
   Cell: Brecknock, Wales (7 *a*). *See* Towns
8. Beaulieu ab., Hants. *Cist.*
9. Bermondsey ab., Surr. *Cluniac* (or *Ben.*? *See* Rymer, xiii. 405)
   Cell: St. James's, Derby (9 *a*). *See* Towns
10. Bodmin pr., Cornw. *A. C.*
11. Bolton pr. (called "abbey"), Yorks. *A. C.*
12. Bordesley ab., Worc. *Cist.*
13. Bradenstock pr., Wilts. *A. C.*
14. Bristol, St. Augustine's ab. *A. C.* *See* Towns
15. Bruton ab., Soms. *A. C.*
16. Buckfast ab., Devon. *Cist.*
17. Buckland, Devon. *Cist.*
18. Bullington, Linc. *Gilb.*
19. *Burton-on-Trent ab., Staff. *Ben.*
20. *Bury St. Edmunds ab., Suff. *Ben.* *See* Towns
21. Butley pr., Suff. *A. C.*
22. Byland ab., Yorks. *Cist.*
23. *Canterbury, St. Augustine's ab. *Ben.* *See* Towns
24. Canterbury, Christchurch Cathedral pr. *See* Towns
   Cells: St. Martin's, Dover (24 *a*). *See* Towns
   Canterbury Coll., Oxf. (24 *b*), now part of Christ Ch., Oxf.
25. Carlisle Cathedral pr. *A. C.*
26. Castleacre pr., Norf. *Cluniac*
27. Cerne ab., Dorset. *Ben.*
28. Chertsey ab., Surr. *Ben.*
   Cell: Cardigan (28 *a*)
29. Chester, St. Werburgh's ab. *See* Towns
30. Chicksand pr., Beds. *Gilb.* (double)
31. Christchurch Twynham pr., Hants. *A. C.*
32. *Cirencester ab., Glouc. *A. C.*
33. Coggeshall ab., Essex. *Cist.*
34. Combe ab., Warw. *Cist.*
35. Combermere ab., Chesh. *Cist.*
36. Coventry Cathedral pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
37. Croxton ab., Leic. *Premon.*
   Cell: Hornby, Lanc. (37 *a*)
   (This cell surrendered to royal visitors in February 1536, before the parliamentary suppression.)
38. *Croyland (Crowland) ab., Linc. *Ben.*
   Cell: Freiston pr., Linc. (38 *a*)
39. Darley ab., Derb. *A. C.*
40. Dereham, West, ab., Norf. *Premon.*
41. Dieulacres ab., Staff. *Cist.*
42. Dunkeswell ab., Devon. *Cist.*
43. Dunstable pr., Beds. *A. C.* *See* Towns
44. Durham Cathedral pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
   Cells: Fern Island (44 *a*)
   Finchale, D'ham (44 *b*)
   Jarrow, D'ham (44 *c*)
   Lindisfarne (44 *d*)
   Lytham, Lanc. (44 *e*)
   Oxford, D'ham Coll. (44 *f*). *See* Towns
   Stamford St. Leonard's (44 *g*). *See* Towns
   Wearmouth, D'ham (44 *h*)
45. Ely Cathedral pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
   Cell: Molycourt in par. of Outwell, Norf. (45 *a*)
46. Ensham ab., Oxf. *Ben.*

47. *Evesham ab., Worc. *Ben.*
Cells: Alcester, Warw. (47 *a*)
Penwortham, Lanc. (47 *b*)
48. Faversham ab., Kent. *Ben.*
49. Fordham pr., Camb. *Gilb.*
50. Fountains ab., Yorks. *Cist.*
51. Furness ab., Lanc. *Cist.*
52. Gisburn (or Guisborough), Yorks. *A. C.*
53. *Gloucester, St. Peter's ab. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cells: Bromfield, Salop (53 *a*)
Ewenny, Glamorgan (53 *b*)
Hereford, St. Guthlac's pr. (53 *c*). *See* Towns
Stanley, St. Leonard's, Glouc. (53 *d*)
54. Hailes ab., Glouc. *Cist.*
55. Halesowen ab., Worc. *Premon.*
Cell: Dodford, in par. of Bromsgrove, Worc. (55 *a*)
56. Hartland ab., Devon. *A. C.*
57. Haughmond ab., Salop. *A. C.*
58. Holm Cultram ab., Cumb. *Cist.*
59. *Hyde ab., by Winchester. *See* Towns, W
60. Kenilworth ab., Warw. *A. C.*
61. Keynsham ab., Soms. *A. C.*
62. Kingswood ab., Glouc. *Cist.*
63. Kirkham pr., Yorks. *A. C.*
64. Kirkstall ab., Yorks. *Cist.*
65. Kirkstead ab., Linc. *Cist.*
66. Launceston pr., Cornw. *A. C.*
67. Launde, Leic. *A. C.*
68. Leeds pr., Kent. *A. C.*
69. Leicester, ab. of St. Mary Pré. *A. C.* *See* Towns
70. Lewes pr., Sussex. *Cluniac.* *See* Towns
71. Lilleshall ab., Salop. *A. C.*
72. Llanthony (Secunda), Glouc. *See* Towns, G
73. London, St. Bartholomew's hosp. pr. *A. C.* *See* Towns
74. London, St. Mary Spital without Bishopsgate. *A. C.*
75. London, St. Mary Graces ab., Tower Hill. *Cist.*
76. *Malmesbury ab., Wilts. *Ben.*
Cell: Pilton, Devon (76 *a*)
77. Malton, Old, pr., Yorks. *Gilb.*
78. Malvern, Great, pr., Worc. *Ben.*
Cell: Avecote, Warw. (78 *a*)
79. Mattersay pr., Notts. *Gilb.*
80. Meaux ab., Yorks. *Cist.*
81. Merevale ab., Warw. *Cist.*
82. Merton pr., Surr. *A. C.*
83. Milton ab., Dorset. *Ben.*
84. Mirmaud, in Upwell par., Camb. *Gilb.*
85. Missenden ab., Bucks. *A. C.*
86. Monk Bretton pr., Yorks. *Cluniac*
87. Montacute pr., Soms. *Cluniac*
Cells: Holme, Dorset (87 *a*)
Malpas, Monm. (87 *b*)
and others
88. Muchelney ab., Soms. *Ben.*
89. Newburgh pr., Yorks. *A. C.*
90. Newnham, near Bedford. *A. C.* *See* Towns: Bedford
91. Newnham ab., Devon. *Cist.*
92. Northampton, St. Andrew's pr. *Cluniac.* *See* Towns
93. Northampton, St. James's pr. *A. C.* *See* Towns
94. Norwich Cathedral pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cells: Aldeby, Norf. (94 *a*)
Hoxne, Suff. (94 *b*)
Lynn, Norf. (94 *c*). Endowment cont. to Cathedral. *See* Towns
Norwich, St. Leonard's (94 *d*). *See* Towns
Yarmouth (94 *e*). Endowment cont. to Cathedral. *See* Towns
95. Nostell pr., Yorks. *A. C.*
Cells: Bamborough, Nthumb. (95 *a*). *See* Towns
Bredon, Leic. (95 *b*)
and others
96. Notley, or Nutley, ab., Bucks. *A. C.*
97. Ormsby pr., Linc. *Gilb.* (double).
98. Oseney ab., Oxf. *A. C.* *See* Towns: Oxford
99. Pershore ab., Worc. *Ben.*
100. *Peterborough ab. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cell: Stamford, St. Michael's nunnery. *See* Towns (100 *a*)
101. Pipwell ab., Northt. *Cist.*
102. Plympton pr., Devon. *A. C.*
Cells: unimportant
103. Pomfret pr., Yorks. *Cluniac*

104. Poulton pr., Wilts. *Gilb.*
105. *Ramsey ab., Hunts. *Ben.*
Cells: St. Ive's, Hunts. (105 *a*), and another
106. Revesby ab., Linc. *Cist.*
107. Rievaulx ab., Yorks. *Cist.*
108. Robertsbridge ab., Sussex. *Cist.*
109. Rocester ab., Staff. *A. C.*
110. Roche ab., Yorks. *Cist.*
111. Rochester Cath. pr., Kent. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cell: Felixstowe, Suff. (W 10)
112. St. Alban's, Herts. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cells: Belvoir, Linc. (112 *a*)
Binham, Norf. (112 *b*)
Hatfield Peverell, Essex (112 *c*)
Hertford (112 *d*)
Pembroke (112 *e*)
Redburn, Herts. (112 *f*)
Tynemouth (112 *g*)
Wallingford (112 *h*). *See* W 28
Coquet Island, Nthumb. (112 *i*). Cell of Tynemouth
113. *St. Benet's Hulme ab., Norf. *Ben.*
114. St. Dennis, by Southampton, pr. *A.C.* *See* Towns, S
115. St. German's pr., Cornw. *A. C.*
116. St. Neot's pr., Hunts. *Ben.*
117. St. Osyth's ab., Essex. *A. C.*
118. *Selby ab., Yorks.
Cell: Snaith (118 *a*)
119. Sempringham pr., Linc. *Gilb.*
120. Sherborne ab., Dorset. *Ben.*
Cells: Horton (120 *a*)
Kidwelly, Carmarthen (120 *b*)
121. Shouldham pr., Norf. *Gilb.* (double)
122. *Shrewsbury ab. *Ben.* *See* Towns
123. Sixhill pr., Linc. *Gilb.*
124. Southwark, St. Mary Overy's pr. *A. C.* *See* Towns
125. Southwick, or Porchester, pr., Hants. *A. C.*
126. Spalding pr., Linc. *Ben.*
127. Stratford Langthorne ab., Essex. *Cist.*
128. Sulby ab., Northt. *Premon.*
129. Taunton pr., Soms. *A. C.*
130. *Tavistock ab., Devon. *Ben.*
Cell: Cowick, Devon (130 *a*). *See* Towns: Exeter
131. *Tewkesbury ab., Glouc. *Ben.*
Cells: Bristol, St. James's (131 *a*). *See* Towns
Cranborne, Dorset (131 *b*)
Deerhurst, Glouc. (131 *c*)
132. Thame ab., Oxf. *Cist.*
133. Thetford pr., Norf. *Cluniac.* *See* Towns
134. *Thorney ab., Camb. *Ben.*
135. Thornton ab., Linc. *A. C.*
136. Thurgarton pr., Notts. *A. C.*
137. Tichfield ab., Hants. *Premon.*
138. Tor ab., Devon. *Premon.*
139. Tutbury pr., Staff. *Ben.*
140. Ulverscroft pr., Leic. *A. C.*
141. Vale Royal ab., Chesh. *Cist.*
142. Walden ab., Essex. *Ben.*
143. Walsingham pr., Norf. *A. C.* *See* Towns
144. *Waltham ab., Essex. *A. C.*
145. Warden ab., Beds. *Cist.*
146. Watton pr., Yorks. *Gilb.* (double)
147. Welbeck ab., Notts. *Premon.*
148. Wenlock pr., Salop. *Cl.*
Cell: Dudley, Staff. (148 *a*)
149. Westacre pr., Norf. *A. C.*
150. *Westminster ab., Midd. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cells: Hurley, Berks. (150 *a*)
Sudbury, Suff. (150 *b*). *See* Towns
151. Whitby ab., Yorks. *Ben.*
Cell: Middlesborough (151 *a*)
152. Wigmore ab., Heref. *A. C.*
153. *Winchcombe ab., Glouc. *Ben.*
154. Winchester, St. Swithin's Cath. pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
155. Worcester Cathedral pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cell: Little Malvern, Worc. (155 *a*)
156. Worksop pr., Notts. *A. C.*
157. Wymondham ab., Norf. *Ben.*
158. *York, St. Mary's ab. *Ben.* *See* Towns
Cells: St. Bee's, Cumb. (158 *a*)
Lincoln, St. Mary Magd. (158 *b*). *See* Towns
Richmond, St. Martin's, York (158 *c*). *See* Towns

Rumburgh, Suff. (W 20)
Wetherall, Cumb. (158 *d*)

VII. Nunneries surrendered (1537-40)

1. Amesbury ab., Wilts. *Ben.*
2. Barking ab., Essex. *Ben.*
3. Brewood, "Black Ladies" pr., Staff. *Ben.*
4. Bromhall, Berks. *Ben.*
5. Buckland, Minchin, pr., Soms. *Aug.*
6. Chester, St. Mary's pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
7. Clerkenwell. *Ben.* *See* Towns : London
8. Dartford pr., Kent. *Dom.* *See* Towns
9. Elstow ab., Beds. *Ben.*
10. Godstow ab., Oxf. *Ben.*
11. Lambley pr., Nthumb. *Ben.*
12. London (*see* Towns), Holywell pr. *Ben.*
13. London, St. Helen's Bishopsgate pr. *Ben.*
14. London, the Minories ab. *Franciscan nuns*
15. Malling ab., Kent. *Ben.*
16. Newcastle-on-Tyne, St. Bartholomew's pr. *Ben.* *See* Towns
17. Nunappleton pr., Yorks. *Cist.*
18. Nuneaton pr., Warw. *Ben.*
19. Nunkeeling pr., Yorks. *Ben.*
20. Romsey ab., Hants. *Ben.*
21. Shaftesbury ab., Dorset. *Ben.*
22. Sion ab., Midd. *Bridgettine* (double)
23. Stamford, St. Michael's pr., Northt. *Ben.* *See* Towns
24. Stixwold pr., Linc. *Cist.*
25. Studley pr., Oxf. *Ben.*
26. Swine pr., Yorks. *Cist.*
27. Tarrant ab., Dorset. *Cist.*
28. Wherwell ab., Hants. *Ben.*
29. Wilton ab., Wilts. *Ben.*
30. Winchester, St. Mary's ab. *Ben.*

VIII. Monasteries suppressed by Attainder (1537-9)

1. Barlings, Linc. *Premon.*
2. Bridlington, Yorks. *A. C.*
3. *Colchester, St. John's, Essex. *Ben.*
4. *Glastonbury, Soms. *Ben.*
5. Jervaulx, Yorks. *Cist.*
6. Kersall, by Manchester, cell to Lenton. *Cluniac*
7. Lenton pr., Notts. *Cluniac*
8. *Reading abbey, Berks. *Ben.*
   Cell: Leominster, Heref. (8 *a*)
9. Sawley, Yorks. *Cist.*
10. Stanlowe abbey, Chesh. *Cist.* (cell of Whalley)
11. Whalley abbey, Lanc. *Cist.*
12. Woburn abbey, Beds. *Cist.*

IX. Commandries or Preceptories of the Knights of St. John

all of which were confiscated, together with the London priory, in 1540. Indicated by a number with J prefixed.

1. Anstey, Wilts.
2. Aslackby, Linc.
3. Baddesley, South, Hants.
4. Balsall, Warw.
5. Barrow, Cheshire
6. Battisford, Suff.
7. Beverley, Yorks. *See* Towns
8. Carbrooke, Norf.
9. Chippenham, Camb.
10. Dalby, Leic.
11. Dingley, Northt.
12. Dinmore, Heref.
13. Eagle, Linc.
14. Gisleham, Suff.
15. Heather, Leic.
16. Hogshaw, Bucks, 3½ miles S.S.W. from Winslow
17. Maltby, near Louth, Linc.
18. Maplestead, Little, Essex
19. Mayne, Dorset
20. Melchbourne, Beds.
21. Mount St. John, Yorks.
22. Newland, Yorks. *See* Towns : Hull
23. Peckham, West, Kent
24. Poling, Suss.
25. Quenington, Glouc.
26. Ribston, Yorks. (W. R.)
27. Rothley, Leic.
28. Shingay, Camb.
29. Slebech, Pemb.

30. Standon, Herts.
31. Sutton-at-Hone, Kent
32. Swinford, Leic.
33. Swingfield, Kent
34. Temple Bruer, Linc.
35. Temple Combe, Soms.
36. Temple Cowley, Oxf.
37. Temple Cressing, Essex
38. Temple Dinsley, Herts. (3 miles S. of Hitchin)
39. Trebigh, or Turbigh, Cornw. (in St. Ive's par., near Liskeard)
40. Wilbraham, Great, Camb.
41. Willoughton, Linc.
42. Witham, South, Linc.
43. Yeaveley, Derb.

X. List of Towns

showing the religious houses in or about each, except (for the most part) hospitals and colleges.

Note.—Houses of Friars were generally within the towns, while the monasteries in this list were mostly situated just outside the walls. The famous four Orders of Friars were the Augustinian, the Black or Dominican (sometimes called Jacobin), the Grey or Franciscan, and the White or Carmelite, Friars. These Orders are indicated respectively by the letters A., B., G., and W. before "Frs." But there were also other Orders, such as the Crossed or Crutched Friars and the Trinitarian Friars. Friaries not situated in towns are also given in this list.

Appleby, Westmor. W. Frs.
Arundel. B. Frs.
Atherstone, Warw. B. Frs.
Aylesford, Kent. W. Frs.
Aylesbury, Bucks. G. Frs.
Bamborough, Nthumb. B. Frs. *Aug.* pr., cell of Nostell (S 95[a])
Bangor. Cathedral (deanery). B. Frs.
Bath. Cathedral pr. (S 6)
Bedford. G. Frs. Caldwell ab. (*A. C.*) and Newnham pr. (*A. C.*), near (P 41, S 90)
Beverley. Preceptory (J 7). B. and G. Frs.
Blakeney, Norf. W. Frs.
Bodmin, Cornw. G. Frs. *Aug.* pr. (S 10)
Boston, Linc. A. B. G. and W. Frs.
Brecknock. B. Frs. *Ben.* pr., cell of Battle (S 7[a])
Bridgenorth. G. Frs.
Bridgewater. G. Frs.
Bristol. St. Augustine's ab. (S 14) created, in 1540, cathedral of Holy Trin.; St. James's, *Ben.* pr., cell of Tewkesbury (S 131[a]); St. John's hosp. A. B. G. and W. Frs.
Burnham, Norf. W. Frs.
Bury St. Edmunds, Suff. * *Ben.* ab. (S 20). G. Frs.
Cambridge. A. B. G. and W. Frs. Gilbertine pr. of St. Edmund's (P 44) and Augustinian pr. of Barnwell (S 5)
Canterbury. Christchurch Cathedral pr. (S 24); *St Augustine's ab. (S 23); St. Sepulchre's nun. (S 19); St. Gregory's pr. (P 45). A. B. and G. Frs.
Cardiff. B. and G. Frs.
Carlisle. Cathedral pr. (S 25). B. and G. Frs.
Carmarthen. Augustinian pr. (P 46). G. Frs.
Chelmsford. B. Frs.
Chepstow. St. Kynemark's (P 166)
Chester. St. Werburg's ab. (S 29); cathedral in 1541; St. Mary's nun. (P 24-S 6). B. G. and W. Frs.
Chichester. Cathedral (deanery). B. and G. Frs.
Clare, Suff. A. Frs.
Colchester, Essex. St. John's ab.* (A 3); St. Botolph's pr. (P 57). G. Frs.
Coventry. Cathedral pr.* (S 36), Charterhouse (C 2). G. and W. Frs.
Dartford. Trin. Frs. Pr., Dom. nuns (S 8)
Denbigh. W. Frs.
Derby. St. James's, Cl. cell of Bermondsey (S 9[a]); B. Frs. King's Mead or de Pratis, *Ben.* nun., near (P 31)
Doncaster. G. and W. Frs.
Dorchester, Dorset. G. Frs.
Dorchester, Oxf. Pr., *A. C.* (P 66)
Dover. St. Martin's pr. (surrendered to royal visitors in Nov. 1535, before the parliamentary suppression); St. Radegund's ab., near (P 167)

Droitwich, Worc. A. Frs.
Dunstable, Beds. Pr. (S 43). B. Frs.
Dunwich, Suff. B. and G. Frs.
Durham. Cathedral pr. (S 44)
Ely. Cathedral pr. (S 45)
Exeter. Cathedral (dean.); St. Nicholas' pr. (P 76); B. and G. Frs. Cowick pr. (cell of Tavistock) (S 130[a]); Polleslo nun., near (P 78)
Gloucester. *St. Peter's ab. (S 53), cathedral in 1541; St. Oswald's pr. (P 89). B. G. and W. Frs. Llanthony (Secunda), *A. C.* (S 72)
Grantham, Linc. G. Frs. Newbo ab., *Premon.* (P 141)
Greenwich. G. Frs. (Observants)
Grimsby, Linc. St. Leonard's nun., *Ben.* (P 42); Wellow ab., *A. C.* (P 203). A. and G. Frs.
Guildford, Surr. B. Frs.
Hartlepool. G. Frs.
Haverford West, Pemb. *Aug.* pr. (P 98). B. Frs.
Hereford. Cathedral (dean.); St. Guthlac's pr., *Ben.* (cell of Gloucester) (S 53[e]) B. and G. Frs.
Hitchin, Herts. W. Frs. Gilb. nuns
Hull. Carthusian pr. (C 5). A. B. and W. Frs. St. Mary's pr., *A. C.* (S 66). Commandry of Newland near (J 22).
Huntingdon. A. Frs. Hinchingbrook Ben. nun. (P 50)
Ilchester, Soms. B. Frs.
Ipswich. Holy Trin. small Austin pr.; St. Peter's pr. (W 12). B. G. and W. Frs.
Lancaster. B. and G. Frs.
Langley, King's, Herts. B. Frs.
Leicester. St. Mary Pré ab. (S 69). A. B. and G. Frs.
Lewes, Suss. Priory (S 70). G. Frs.
Lichfield. Cathedral (dean.). G. Frs.
Lincoln. Cathedral (dean.); St. Katharine's Gilb. pr. (omitted in List VI.); St. Mary Magdalen's pr., cell of York (S 158[b]). A. B. G. and W. Frs.
Llandaff. Cathedral
Llanvais, Anglesea. G. Frs.
London. Cathedral (dean.); Charterhouse; Christchurch pr., Aldgate (surrendered before the parliamentary suppression); Clerkenwell nun. (S 7); Elsingspittle pr. (*A. C.*, om. in List IV.); Holywell nun. (S 12); Minories, or Minoresses (S 14); Kilburn Ben. nun., near (P 55); St. Bartholomew's pr. (S 73); St. Helen's pr. within Bishopsgate (S 13); St. John's pr. (Knights); St. Mary Spital without Bishopsgate (S 74); Tower Hill, ab. of St. Mary Graces (S 75). A. B. G. and W. Frs., and also Crossed or Crutched Frs. *See also* Southwark
Losenham, Kent. W. Frs.
Ludlow, Salop. A. and W. Frs.
Lynn, Norf. A. B. G. and W. Frs. *Ben.* pr., cell of Norwich (S 94[e])
Maldon, Essex. W. Frs. Bileigh, beside
Marlborough, Wilts. W. Frs. St. Margaret's pr., near (P 131)
Melcombe, Dorset. B. Frs.
Newark, Notts. A. and G. (Obs.) Frs.
Newcastle-on-Tyne. A. B. G. and W. Frs. St. Bartholomew's pr. (P 71); Walknoll Trin. Frs.
Newcastle-under-Line. B. Frs.
Newport, Pemb. A. Frs.
Northallerton, Yorks. W. Frs.
Northampton. St. Andrew's pr. (S 92); St. James's ab. (P 148-S 93); De la Pray Cluniac nun., without (P 72). A. B. G. and W. Frs.
Norwich. Cathedral pr. of Christchurch (S 94); St. Leonard's pr. (S 94[d]); Carrow nun. (P 20). A. B. G. and W. Frs.
Nottingham. G. and W. Frs.
Orford, Suff. A. Frs.
Oxford. St. Frideswide's pr. (W 16), now Christchurch college and cathedral. Durham coll. (S 44*f*). A. B. G. and W. Frs. Oseney ab., near (S 98); Rewley ab., near (P 160)
Penrith, Cumb. A. Frs.
* Peterborough. Ab. (S 100), cathedral in 1541
Plymouth. G. and W. Frs.
Pomfret, Yorks. Pr. (S 103). B. Frs.
Preston, Lanc. G. Frs.

Reading. *Ab. (A 8). G. Frs.
Rhuddlan, Flints. B. Frs.
Richmond, Surr. G. Frs. (Ob.)
Richmond, Yorks. St. Agatha's ab. (P 164); St. Martin's (S 158e). G. Frs.
Rochester. Cathedral pr. (S 111)
Rye, Suss. A. Frs.
St. Alban's ab. (S 112). De la Praye nun. (W 18); Sopwell nun. (P 86)
St. Asaph's. Cathedral (dean.)
St. David's. Cathedral (dean.)
Salisbury. Cathedral (dean.). B. and G. Frs.
Sandwich, Kent. W. Frs.
Scarborough, Yorks. B. G. and W. Frs.
Sele, Suss. (near Shoreham). W. Frs.
Shrewsbury. *Abbey (S 122). A. B. G. and W. Frs.
Southampton. G. Frs. (Obs.), A. Frs. (who replaced Obs. after 1534?); St. Denis' pr., South Stoneham (S 114)
Southwark (opp. London on the Thames). St. Mary Overy's pr. (S 124)
Stafford. St. Thomas' pr. (P 175). A. and G. Frs.
Stamford. St. Michael's Ben. nun. (cell of Peterborough) (S 100a); St. Leonard's, *Ben.* (cell of Durham) (S 44g), A. B. G. and W. Frs.; Newstead, *Aust. pr.*, near (P 144)
Sudbury, Suff. *Ben.* pr., cell of Westminster (S 150b). B. Frs.
Thelesford, Warw. Trin. Frs.
Thetford, Norf. Cluniac pr. of St. Mary (S 133); Canons of St. Sepulchre (P 186); Ben. nun. (P 93)
Tickhill, Yorks. A. Frs.
Truro, Cornw. B. Frs.
Walsingham, Norf. Priory (S 143). G. Frs.
Ware, Herts. G. Frs.
Warwick. St. Sepulchre's pr. (P 201). B. Frs.
Wells. Cathedral (dean.); St. John's hosp.
Westminster. *Abbey of St. Peter (S 150), cathedral from 1540 to 1550
Wilton, Wilts. B. Frs. Ben. nun. (S 29)
Winchelsea. B. and G. Frs.
Winchester. Cathedral pr. of St. Swithin (S 154); St. Mary's abbey, nuns (P 99); *Hyde abbey, near (S 59). A. B. G. and W. Frs.
Woodhouse, near Cleobury Mortimer, Salop. A. Frs.
Worcester. Cathedral pr. (S 155). Whiston pr. of Cistercian nuns, near (P 98). B. and G. Frs.
Yarm, Yorks. B. Frs.
Yarmouth, Norf. *Ben.* pr., cell of Norwich (site still an endowment of the cathedral). B. G. and W. Frs. At Gorleston, Suff. A. Frs.
York. Cathedral (dean.) Clementhorpe pr. of Ben. nuns (P 25); Holy Trin. pr. (P 214); St. Andrew's pr. (P 215); St. Leonard's hosp.; *St. Mary's abbey (S 158); St. Nicholas' hosp. A. B. G. and W. Frs.

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ERRATA

IN MAP AND KEY

The following errors occur in the Lists, chiefly from wrong classification.

In List IV. Alvingham, Boxley, Catteley, Ellerton (Yorkshire), Ford, Haverholme and Newstead in Lindsey are misplaced, and should have been in List VI.

In List VI. Kirkstead is misplaced ; it should have been in List VIII. (suppressed by attainder). Newark priory (A. C.), which has been omitted altogether, ought to be added to this list. It was in Surrey, two miles south of Woking, in the parish of Send.

In List VII. Nuncotton has been omitted. It was situated in the parish of Keelby in Lincolnshire, about seven miles west of Grimsby.

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